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H I S T O R Y
O F
W O M E N.

VOL. II.

THE
HISTORY
OF
WOMEN,
FROM THE
EARLIEST ANTIQUITY,
TO THE
PRESENT TIME;

GIVING

Some Account of almost every interesting Particular concerning that Sex, among all Nations, ancient and modern,

The THIRD EDITION,

With many Alterations and Corrections.

By WILLIAM ALEXANDER, M. D.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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***.* The Reader is requested to correct the following**

E R R A T A.

Page 5 line 24, *for* notwithstanding *read* notwithstanding.

- 63 - 5, *for* were *read* are.**
- 139 - 2, *for* hundred *read* thousand.**
- 267 - 19, *for* symptoms *read* symptom.**
- 281 - 11, *for* given *read* giving.**
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- 346 - 25, *for* Takier *read* Fakier.**
- 375 - 2, *for* given *read* giving.**
- 395 - 25, *for* Sumetra, *read* Sumatra.**
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- 432 - 10, *for* become *read* became.**
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THE
HISTORY
OF
WOMEN.

CHAP XVI.

Of Delicacy and Chastity.

OF all the virtues which adorn the female character, and enable the sex to steal imperceptibly into the heart, none are more conspicuous than that unaffected timidity and shyness of manners which we distinguish by the name of delicacy. In the most rude and savage states of mankind, however, this virtue has no existence: In those where politeness and the various refinements connected with it are carried to excess, it is discarded, as a vulgar and unfashionable restraint on the freedom of good breeding.

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To illustrate these observations, we shall adduce a few facts from the history of man-

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kind.

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Effects of
barbarity
of man-
ners.

kind. Where the human race has little other culture than what it receives from nature; the two sexes live together, unconscious of almost any restraint on their words or on their actions: Diodorus Siculus mentions several nations among the ancients, as the *Hylophagi* and *Ichthiophagi*, who had scarcely any cloathing, whose language was exceedingly imperfect, and whose manners were hardly distinguishable from those of the brutes which surrounded them. The Greeks, in the heroic ages, as appears from the whole history of their conduct, were totally unacquainted with delicacy. The Romans, in the infancy of their empire, were the same. Tacitus informs us, that the ancient Germans had not separate beds for the two sexes, but that they lay promiscuously on reeds or on heath spread along the walls of their houses; a custom still prevailing in Lapland; among the peasants of Norway, Poland, and Russia; and not altogether obliterated in some parts of the Highlands of Scotland and of Wales. In Terra del Fuego, on several places of the Gold Coast, in the Brazils, and a variety of other parts, the inhabitants have hardly any thing to cover their bodies, and scarcely the least inclination

clination to conceal any natural action from the eyes of the public. In Otaheite, to appear naked, or in cloaths, are circumstances equally indifferent to both sexes: nor does any word in their language, nor any action to which they are prompted by nature, seem more indelicate or reprehensible than another. Such are the effects of a total want of culture; and effects not very dissimilar, are in France and Italy produced from a redundancy of it. Delicacy is laughed out of existence as a silly and unfashionable weakness.

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Effects of
too much
refine-
ment.

AMONG people of a middle degree, or rather perhaps something below a middle degree, between the most uncultivated rusticity and the most refined politeness, we find female delicacy in its highest perfection. The Japanese are but just emerged a little above savage barbarity, and in their history we are presented by Kempfer, with an instance of the effect of delicacy, which perhaps has not been equalled in the annals of mankind. A lady being at table in a promiscuous company, in reaching for something that she wanted, accidentally broke wind backwards, by which her delicacy was so much wounded, that she immediately

State of
people not
too much
refined,
nor too
much un-
cultivated

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Of those
too much
refined.

arose, laid hold on her breasts with her teeth, and tore them till she expired on the spot. In Scotland, and a few other parts of the north of Europe, where the inhabitants are some degrees farther advanced in politeness than the Japanese; a woman would be almost as much ashamed to be detected going to the temple of *Cloacina*, as to that of *Venus*. In England, to go in the most open manner to that of the former, hardly occasions a blush on the most delicate cheek. At Paris, we are told that a gallant frequently accompanies his mistress to the shrine of the goddess, stands sentinel at the door, and entertains her with bon mots, and protestations of love all the time she is worshipping there; and that a lady when in a carriage, whatever company be along with her, if called upon to exonerate nature, pulls the cord, orders the driver to stop, steps out, and having performed what Nature required, resumes her seat without the least ceremony or discomposure. The Parisian women, as well as those in many of the other large towns of France, even in the most public companies, make no scruple of talking concerning those secrets of their sex, which almost in every other country



country are reckoned indelicate in the ears of the men; nay, so little is their reserve on this head, that a young lady on being asked by her lover to dance, will, without blush or hesitation, excuse herself on account of the impropriety of doing so in her present circumstances. The Italians, it is said, not only copy the French in these particulars, but sometimes even go beyond them. When a people have arrived at that point in the scale of politeness, which entirely discards delicacy, the chastity of their women must be in a languishing state; for delicacy is the centinel that is placed over female virtue, and that centinel once overcome, chastity is more than half subdued.

FROM these observations, a question of the most difficult determination arises. Is female delicacy natural or artificial? if natural, it should be found in the highest perfection in those states where mankind approach the nearest to nature; if artificial, it should be most conspicuous in states the most artificially polished. But notwithstanding what we related in the last section, it appears to be regulated by no general or fixed law in either. The inhabitants of the coast of
New

Delicacy
more natural to
the female than
the male.

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~~~~~ New Zealand are perhaps as little cultivated as any on the globe, and yet their women were ashamed to be seen naked even at a distance by the English. In Otaheite, where they are considerably more polished, we have already seen that they are conscious of no such shame. “With the most innocent look,” says Hawkesworth, “Obera their queen and several others, on going to meet another chief of the island, first uncovered their heads, and then their bodies as low as the waist. Nor can privacy,” adds he, “be much wanted among a people who have not even an idea of indecency, and who gratify every appetite and passion before witnesses, with no more sense of impropriety than we feel when we satisfy our hunger at the social board.” We have seen that in France and Italy, which are reckoned the politest countries in Europe, women set themselves above shame and despise delicacy; but in China, one of the politest countries in Asia, and perhaps not even in this respect behind France or Italy, the case is quite otherwise. No being can be so delicate as a woman, in her dress, in her behaviour and conversation; and should she ever happen to be exposed  
in



in any unbecoming manner, she feels with the greatest poignancy the awkwardness of her situation, and if possible covers her face that she may be not known. In the midst of so many discordant appearances the mind is perplexed, and can hardly fix upon any cause to which female delicacy is to be ascribed. If we attend however to the whole animal creation; if we consider it attentively, wherever it falls under our observation, it will discover to us that, in the female there is a greater degree of delicacy or coy reserve than in the male. Is not this a proof that through the wide extent of the creation, the seeds of delicacy are more liberally bestowed upon females than upon males? And do not the facts which we have mentioned prove, that in the human genus these seeds require some culture to expand, and bring them to perfection; whereas, on the other hand, too much culture actually destroys them altogether.

In the remotest periods of which we have any historical account, we find that the women had a delicacy to which the other sex were strangers. Rebecca veiled herself when

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Proofs of  
this.

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when she first approached Isaac her future husband, and in those ages it would seem that even prostitution was too delicate to shew itself openly, for Tamar, when she personated an harlot, covered herself with a veil, which appears from the story to have been a part of the dress used in those days by women of that profession. Many of the fables of antiquity, mark with the most distinguishing characters, the force of female delicacy. Of this kind is the fable of Actæon and Diana. Actæon a famous hunter, being in the woods with his hounds beating for game, accidentally spied Diana and her nymphs bathing in a river, prompted by curiosity, he stole silently into a neighbouring thicket, that he might have a nearer view of them. The goddess discovering him, was so affronted at his audacity, and so much ashamed to have been seen naked, that in revenge she immediately transformed him into a stag, set his own hounds upon him, and encouraged them to overtake and devour him. Besides this and other fables and historical anecdotes of antiquity, their poets seldom exhibit a female character in its loveliest form, without adorning it with the graces of modesty and delicacy ; hence we may infer,

infer, that these qualities have not only been always essential to virtuous women in civilized countries, but were also constantly praised and esteemed by men of sensibility.

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PLUTARCH, in his treatise, entitled, *The virtuous Actions of Women*, mentions several anecdotes which strongly favour our idea of delicacy being an innate principle in the female mind. The most striking is that of the young women of Milesia; many of whom, about that time of life, when nature gives birth to passions which virtue forbids to gratify, to extricate themselves from this conflict between nature and virtue, put a period to their existence. This practice becoming every day more general, was at last finally abolished, by ordaining that the body of every one who did so should be brought naked to the market-place, and publicly exposed to the people; and so powerfully did the idea of this indelicate exposure operate on their minds, that from thenceforth not one of them ever made an attempt on her own life.

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Instances  
of indeli-  
cacy.

THERE are so many evils attending the loss of virtue in women, and so greatly are the minds of that sex depraved when they have deviated from the path of rectitude, that a general contamination of their morals may be considered as one of the greatest misfortunes that can befall a state, as it in time destroys almost every public virtue of the men. Hence all wise legislators have strictly enforced upon the sex a particular purity of manners; and not satisfied that they should abstain from vice only, have required them even to shun every appearance of it. Such, in some periods, were the laws of the Romans, and such were the effects of these laws, that if ever female delicacy shone forth in a conspicuous manner, we are of opinion it was among those people, after they had worn off much of the barbarity of their first ages, and before they became contaminated by the wealth and manners of the nations which they plundered and subjected. Then it was that we find many of their women surpassing in modesty almost every thing related by fable; and then it was that their ideas of delicacy were so highly refined, that they could not even bear the secret consciousness

sciousness of an involuntary crime, and far less of having tacitly consented to it. But as the customs of all ages are constantly chequered with good and evil, those of the women of antiquity had in them a large share of the indelicacy of the times. Of this nothing can be a stronger proof than the practice mentioned by Moses, of exposing to public view the tokens of a bride's virginity on the morning after her marriage; to which we shall only add, the price demanded by Saul for his daughter, when he espoused her to David; a price the most highly characteristic of indelicacy. The Greeks themselves, who considered all the rest of the world as barbarians, were hardly a few degrees more delicate than the instances just mentioned. It is difficult to determine whether the comedies of Aristophanes or Euripides are the most shocking to a modest ear. Martial, and even Horace, among the Romans, were scarcely less indecent, but they flourished at Rome during those periods, when false refinement had banished delicacy as a silly and unsocial virtue; and when even law was so repugnant to decency, that a woman taken in adultery was prostituted in the public street to all comers,


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who were invited by ringing a bell to the abominable ceremony.

AFTER the subversion of the Roman Empire, there arose among the barbarians an institution, which, as it was in a great measure directed to the defence and protection of women, raised them to a dignity, and formed them to a delicacy unknown to any other age or people, and which perhaps will ever remain unparalleled in the history of mankind; unless chivalry or some similar institution be again revived. As chivalry began to decline, delicacy declined also along with it, till at last both sexes assumed a rudeness of manners and of dress, which for several centuries disgraced Europe.

HAVING given these few historical sketches of the state of delicacy among the ancients and among our European ancestors, we proceed to observe, that when we leave Europe, and her colonies, we meet with few other people on the globe who cherish female delicacy, or regard it as an ornament to the sex. Instead therefore of entering into a detail of the manners of such people, we shall go on to make some  
remarks

remarks on the various methods of preserv- C H A P.  
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ing chastity, that cardinal virtue, to which   
delicacy is only an outwork.

IN every country whose history we have looked into, except China\*, the legislators have constantly held out terrors to hinder the commission of vice, but seldom or never offered rewards for the practice of virtue. The reason may be, that the vicious are few in number, and punishments cheap; whereas premiums are costly, and the virtuous so many, that no government can afford to bestow a reward upon each of them. Besides, the moral virtues not only reward us themselves with peace of mind in this world, but have annexed to them the promises of a still more ample reward in that which is to come. When we consider these reasons, it is not surprising to find that chastity, upon which all polished states have set the highest value, has never been encouraged by any positive institution in its favour; while its opposite vice has, by every well regulated

Of chasti-  
ty, and the  
method of  
preserv-  
ing it.

\* The Chinese not only punish vice as in other countries, but to several of the more exalted virtues, they annex honorary, and even sometimes pecuniary rewards.

govern-

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government, been branded with a greater or less degree of infamy, according to the ideas which such government entertained of religion, morality, rectitude, and order. But custom among every polished people, supplies the deficiency of law, and so orders it, that every woman who deviates from chastity, forfeits almost entirely the society of her own sex, and of the most worthy and regular part of ours: and, what is of infinitely greater consequence, she forfeits almost all chance of entering into that state, which women have so many natural as well as political reasons to determine them to wish for more than the men; and if she has any small degree of chance left of entering into it, she must do it with a partner below her rank and station in life; and, even thus matched, she is liable to have the follies and frailties of her former conduct thrown up to her on every occasion which gives birth to the slightest matrimonial difference.

THESE, and others of the same nature, are the punishments which refinement of manners has inflicted on the breach of chastity by unmarried women. We shall see afterward, that almost every people, whether



ther civilized or savage, have treated married women who commit this crime with much greater severity; subjecting them not only to several kinds of public shame and indignity, but even to a variety of corporal, and often to capital punishments. But as every severity, and every punishment, has been found too weak to prevail against the vice of incontinence; especially among people of soft and voluptuous manners, under the influence of a warm sun, and professing a religion which lays no restraint upon the passions; the Easterns, where these causes most powerfully operate, have, time immemorial, endeavoured to secure the chastity of their women by eunuchs and confinement.

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AT what period, or in what part of the world, some of the males of our species were first emasculated, in order to qualify them for guarding the objects dedicated to the pleasures of the rest, is not perfectly known. The institution of a custom so barbarously unnatural, has, by some, been attributed to the infamous Semiramis; but we are of opinion, that it was more likely to originate from the men than the women.

Origin of  
eunuchs.

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men. Leaving therefore, the subject of its origin, we shall just observe, that all the voluptuous nations of the East have constantly considered Eunuchs as so envious of the joys which themselves were incapable of tasting, that they would exert every power to hinder others from tasting them also; and hence have fixed upon them as the most vigilant guardians of female chastity. Nor has their choice been improperly made: For these wretches, losing every tender feeling for the other sex, and bent upon ingratiating themselves into the favour of their jealous masters, not only debar their fair prisoners from every species of pleasure, but often treat them with a brutal and unnatural severity.

WHILE the empires and kingdoms of the East have been perpetually tottering on their foundations, and subject to the most frequent and sudden revolutions, the manners and customs, like the mountains and rocks of the country, have been, time immemorial, permanent and unchangeable; and, at this day, exhibit nearly the same appearance that they did in the patriarchal

chal


chal ages. Nor have these customs in any thing remained more fixed and unalterable, than in the use of eunuchs. Every Eastern potentate, and every other person, who can defray the expence, employs a number of those wretches to superintend his seraglio; and guard the chastity of his women; not only from every rude invader, but also from the effects of female association and intrigue. Nor need we wonder at this, when we consider, that into the women of this country are instilled no virtuous principles, to enable them to defend themselves; that the men are taught by fashion, and prompted by restraint, to attack them as often as they have opportunity; that the women may therefore be considered in the same situation, with regard to the men, as the defenceless animals of the field are to the beasts of prey which prowl around them; and that on these accounts: while the present constitution of the country remains unaltered, to guard the sex by this species of neutral beings, may not be so unnecessary a caution as it appears to us Europeans, who are accustomed to superior virtue, and to better laws.

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~~~~~  
 Confinement of
 women,
 its origin.

THERE is in the human mind, a reluctance at sharing with another what we think necessary for ourselves, or what we greatly love and admire. Hence, perhaps, arose the custom of fencing a field round with a ditch or wall; and hence also, that of securing women by confinement, and guarding them by eunuchs. At what period, or in what part of the world, women were first put under confinement, is uncertain. We have, however, some reasons to believe, they were so used among the Philistines as early as the patriarchal ages; and even among the patriarchs themselves, we are told that they had apartments in the back parts of the tents, into which it would seem that the men, or at least strangers, were never allowed to enter; and to which the sex retired when any stranger approached*. But though there might be some restraint upon women in these ages, it did certainly not amount to absolute con-

* The Rabbies, who derive almost every thing from some fabulous story, tell us, that Noah, in pursuance of directions handed down to him from Adam, took the body of that original father with him into the ark, and placed it as a barrier to separate the men from the women; and that this was one of the circumstances which gave rise to the confinement of the sex.

finement: for we are informed, that all CHAP.
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ranks and conditions of them were employed 
in the fields, and went out of the cities in
the evenings to draw water; and though
separate apartments were contrived in the
back parts of the tents for them, as we
have no account of their being confined
to these, it is probable, that they served
rather as retreats for decency, than as
places of imprisonment.

SUCH was the state of women among
the Israelites; nor do they seem to have
wanted their liberty at this time among the
Egyptians, as appears from the story of the
wife of Potiphar; and in a subsequent pe-
riod, from that of Pharaoh's daughter,
who was going with her train of attending
nymphs to bathe in the Nile, when she
found Moses among the reeds.

WERE we to reason from principles only
on the origin of female confinement, we
should naturally derive it from jealousy; if
we reason from facts, it may have arisen
from experience of the little security there
was for the chastity of a weak and helpless
woman, in the ages of rudeness and lawless
D 2 barbarity,

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barbarity. Hence many are of opinion, that the rape of Jacob's daughter by the Sechemites induced that patriarch to cause all his own women and those of his dependents to be shut up, lest another accident of the same nature should befall any of them. The rapes of Io and Proserpine gave birth, perhaps, to the confinement of women among the Greeks, and similar misfortunes might be followed by similar consequences among other nations. Whether the confinement of women originated from the rape of Dinah, we pretend not to determine; of this, however, we are certain, that in length of time it became a custom among the Jews as well as among their neighbours. King David had his wives confined; for we are told that they went up to the house-top to see him march out against his son Absalom, which at this day is all the liberty allowed the women of the East, when they wish to be indulged with the sight of any public show or procession.

BUT though the women of kings were at this period generally shut up, it would seem that those of private persons enjoyed more

more liberty; for the same David sent and brought the wife of Uriah to his house, which all the authority with which he was invested could not have done without a tumult, had she been as strictly guarded, and the persons of women at that time as sacred and inviolable in the East, as they are at present. When we come to the history of Solomon, we have plain accounts of a seraglio for the confinement of his women; and in that of Ahasuerus, king of Persia, we learn, that his seraglio was constituted not only on a plan of the severest confinement, but also of the most voluptuous sensuality. It would be needless to trace this custom downward to later periods, as it is well known that it became the common practice of almost all nations, till the Romans broke through it, and showed the world that it was possible for the sex to enjoy liberty and be virtuous.

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C H A P. XVII.

The same Subject continued.

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THE same causes which at first introduced particular manners and customs, are not always the only ones which continue or augment them; thus though seraglios and harems for the confinement of women, probably originated from jealousy, or from the danger of exposing weak and defenceless beauty to men heated with lust, and unrestrained by law, they soon after became an article of luxury and ostentation. The Asiatic monarchs and grandees vied with each other in having the most numerous and beautiful set of women, which conferred upon their master a lustre and dignity of the same nature as in Europe we suppose we obtain by a splendid equipage and a numerous retinue. But they carried this matter still farther; they made use of their women to add to the long list of high-sounding titles, of which the Easterns are so exceedingly fond. The king of Bishnagar, among
the

the rest of his pompous titles, is stiled the CHAP.
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 husband of a thousand wives. Were he to 
 call himself *the Faylor of a thousand Wives*,
 he would find the title more reconcileable to
 truth, though it might be less flattering to
 his vanity.

IN justification of seraglios and harems it
 has been by some alledged, that they are not
 so much places of confinement as of volun-
 tary retreat from the rudeness and indeco-
 rum of the men. These, however, who
 argue in this manner must be but ill ac-
 quainted with the history of the East, and
 less with human nature; for we cannot
 suppose it consistent with those ideas and
 feelings with which we are endowed, that
 women should voluntarily shut up and se-
 clude themselves from all the pleasures of
 liberty, of social life, and from the hope
 and joy of public admiration, without any
 other recompence than a small share of the
 favours of one man. Every human being
 has by nature an equal right to personal li-
 berty, and none seem more tenacious of this
 right than the rude and uncultivated; it is
 probable, therefore, that the first efforts to
 confine women were resisted with all their
 strength

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strength and cunning; but the struggle proving ineffectual, custom at last stamped the sanction of justice upon what was at first only an illegal exertion of power.

Confine-
ment of
the sex an
unlawful
exertion
of power.

IF jealousy was the original source of female confinement, when a wife really gave her husband cause to be jealous, he had at least a tolerable pretence for shutting her up; but to imprison wives in general, because some of them were found unfaithful, or young women in general, because upon some few individuals a rape had been committed, was an outrage against justice. The learned Montesquieu, in endeavouring to justify this outrage, says, “That
“such is the force of climate in subliming
“the passions to an ungovernable height in
“countries where women are confined, that
“were they allowed their liberty, the attack
“upon them would always be certain, and
“the resistance nothing.” Allowing to this reasoning all its force, does not justice demand, that the attacker, rather than the attacked, should be confined? But we venture to affirm, though in contradiction to so celebrated a genius, that such reasoning is not founded on nature; for this so
much

much dreaded attack, and this feeble resistance, are neither of them altogether the effect of climate, but of restraint also, and would take place as well in Lapland as in Asia, were the sexes there as carefully kept asunder, and were there no other security for virtue but want of opportunity to be vicious. For such plainly is the disposition of human nature, that the greater the obstacles thrown in the way of gratification, the greater are the efforts to overcome them. Hence a woman who is masked or veiled, more strongly attracts our attention, than one who is clothed in the ordinary manner, because, in the former case, we only see a small part of her charms, and creative fancy forms the most extravagant idea of all that is hid. Hence, also, men and women perpetually kept asunder are for ever brooding over the joys they would have tasted in the company of each other, and on this account, a man who rarely in his whole life has an opportunity of being alone with a woman, if such an opportunity should happen, never fails to make use of it by attacking her virtue; whereas were he to have frequent opportunities of this nature, his fancy would be less heated, he would set

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less value upon the sex, and reckon them less the objects of temptation. These inferences are much strengthened by the following facts: A native of China, who lately resided some years in England, acknowledged, that, for some time after he arrived here, he had much difficulty in restraining himself from attacking every woman with whom he was left alone; and a Nun who had escaped from a convent, imagined that every man who had an opportunity would assault her virtue, and though she had no inclination to have yielded, even sometimes felt a secret chagrin that she was not put to the trial.

ASTONISHMENT and honest indignation arise in our breasts, when we hear of the unlawful restraint that is laid on the liberty of the sex in the East, while in Europe, we view without emotion, thousands of hapless virgins every year dragged involuntarily to the altar of a convent, to vow an eternal renunciation of the pleasures of that world which they love, and a faithful observance of that celibacy which they hate. If therefore, we execrate the confinement of the women of Asia, where they are not obliged to perjure themselves at the altar, where they

they are not lost to the propagation of the species, what sentiments must we feel when we contemplate the manner of shutting them up in Europe, by obliging them solemnly to swear that they will eradicate the feelings implanted in them by their creator, and glory in contributing to discontinue the species which he formed them to propagate? Ye legislators! who impose rules upon mankind, did ye consider your own interest, you would never promulgate laws which tend to diminish your subjects; did ye listen to the voice of humanity, ye would not deprive for ever of their liberty, beings who have committed no crime, and who equally wish to enjoy, and are equally intitled to it with yourselves. Ye Priests! of the Roman church, who tell us that such rules are the will of the divinity, whose laws you pretend to the sole right of interpreting, did ye attend to the manner in which he continues the works that he has made, ye would not presumptuously endeavour to persuade us that he created man male and female, and forbid him to increase and multiply; did ye reflect that the dictates of nature and of reason militate against such absurdity, you would even perhaps blush for the arrogance of your

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conduct towards God and man; but the time, we flatter ourselves is not far distant, when reason shall break through the trammels of priestcraft, and vindicate the rights of nature and society!

Reason of
confining
wives.

IN civilized nations, where the principles of morality are cultivated, when a mutual compact has been entered into between a man and a woman to abide by each other, the faith of this woman, and the sense of the obligation she has laid herself under, are considered as the securities of her virtue. This compact, however, is commonly a mutual one; whereas in countries where women are confined, the compact entered into between husband and wife, if it can be called a compact, is only an act of power on the part of the husband and parents of the bride, and of passive obedience on her part. The husband, therefore, has no great reason to expect that she will pay the same regard to this compact, as if it had been made by the voluntary agreement of all parties; sensible on this account, that her mind may be differently disposed of from her body, he does all that mortal can do, he secures the latter by perpetual confinement. But this mode
of



of treating women is the vilest indignity that can be offered to human beings; it presupposes them neither endowed with virtue nor free agency, and places them in the same point of view with an unoccupied field, which yields itself indifferently to the possession of any one, who will be at the pains to secure and fence it. It likewise presupposes the men to be with regard to the women, what they are to the wild beasts of the field, absolute masters of every one whom they can catch and detain. Ideas which we reprobate as inconsistent with human nature, when not warped by custom, or led astray by art.

IN Circassia, Mingrelia, and several other parts of the East, the monarchs, having an absolute power, generally take from their subjects by force, such women as are handsome, without any regard to their rank, or their being married or single. The grand Seignior has a tribute of young girls annually paid to him by the Greeks, and some other of his tributary provinces; these are placed in apartments of the palace, which are separated from all intercourse with the rest, and are called the seraglio; where they are guarded in the strictest manner by eunuchs,

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eunuchs. The gardens of this seraglio, which are fenced with high walls, and planted with rows of trees, to obstruct the sight, are the utmost limits to which they are allowed to go; except when some of them are carried along with their master, if he makes any excursion, or goes to war against an enemy; in which case, they are placed in close machines, on the backs of camels, and as much hid as if in the inmost recesses of the seraglio.

Of Hara-
ms.

BESIDES the seraglio of the sultan, private persons have apartments in their houses, called Harams, where they confine their women. The Haram is, in Turkey, as it was in ancient Greece, always in the back-part of the house, and all the windows of it look into the garden. The apartments of the ladies, when the husband can afford it, are elegantly furnished after their manner; and they want nothing but society to make life comfortable. They have numbers of beautiful female slaves, who divert them with vocal and instrumental music, dancing, and other amusements. From these Harams, women are sometimes suffered to go out, but they must always be veiled and covered from head to foot with a long robe, called a forigee;

forigee; without which no woman of any rank is allowed to appear in the street; and which is so exactly alike in all, that it is absolutely impossible to distinguish one woman from another. The most jealous husband cannot know his own wife; and no man dare touch, or follow a woman in the street; so that the confinement of the women at Constantinople, is not so rigid as some of our travellers would make us believe.

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In the empire of the Mogul, when the women are carried abroad, they are put into a kind of machine, like a chariot, placed on the backs of camels, or in covered sedan chairs, surrounded by a guard of eunuchs, and armed men, in such a manner, that a stranger would rather suppose the cavalcade to be carrying some desperate villain to execution, than employed to prevent the intrigues or escape of a few defenceless women. At home the sex are covered with gauze veils, which they dare not take off in the presence of any man, except their husband, or some near relation. In the greatest part of Asia, and some places of Africa, women are guarded by eunuchs, made incapable of violating their chastity. In Spain, where many

Eastern
women,
how con-
cealed on
a journey.

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many of the natives are the descendants of the Africans; and whose jealousy is not less strong than that of their ancestors; they, for many centuries, made use of padlocks to secure the chastity of the sex; but finding these ineffectual, they had recourse to a species of old women, who being past the joys of love, were on that account supposed to be incorruptible guardians of female virtue; but even against the watchfulness of these there was a remedy, and their care was frequently hushed, and their scruples silenced by all-powerful gold. The Spaniards are become sensible of this; they, at present, seem to give up all restrictive methods, and trust the virtue of their women to good principles, instead of rigour and hard usage.

Various
methods
of secur-
ing fe-
male
chastity.

WHERE there is no public virtue to confide in, besides the methods of Duennas, locks, eunuchs, and confinement, several others have been, and still are, practised in different countries, to preserve female chastity. Mr. More relates a singular method used for this purpose in the interior parts of Africa; it is a figure to which they give the name of *Mumibo Jumbo*, made of the bark of a tree, in the shape of a man dressed in
a long



a long coat, with a large tuft of straw on its head: into this figure, which is usually about nine feet high, a man is introduced, who causes it to walk along, speak what he pleases, or make such a horrid and frightful noise, as he thinks will best answer his purpose. It is kept carefully concealed by the men, and never comes abroad but in the night, when they want to frighten the women into chastity and obedience. They persuade the sex, that it knows every thing; they refer every thing to its decision, and it always decides in favour of the men; but this is not all, it has a power of inflicting punishments on female delinquents, which it frequently does, by ordering them to be whipped. They are taught to believe, that it is particularly offended with unchastity; a crime which it will certainly discover, and as certainly punish. As soon as they hear it coming, they generally run away and hide themselves; but are obliged by their husbands to return, though in fear and trembling, to its presence, and to do or suffer whatever it pleases to order them. How despicable must the understanding of these women be, if they are really thus deceived by so bungling a trick!

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IN almost all countries, where female chastity has been an object much regarded, some methods have been contrived to awaken the fears of the incontinent, as well as to flatter and reward the hopes of those who persevered in virtue; even the Jewish legislator not thinking that the positive laws he had enacted against unchastity, and the punishments he had annexed to them, were fully strong to overcome every vicious inclination; instituted a mode of alarming their fears of a discovery, even when such discovery was above the power of mortal agency: this was the waters of jealousy, which a husband, who suspected the fidelity of his wife, obliged her, with some solemn ceremonies, to drink; and which she firmly believed would make her belly to swell, and her thigh to rot, if she was guilty. When such was her belief, and when the husband had it constantly in his power to put her to the dreadful trial, a barrier was thereby formed against unchastity, stronger than all the other laws human and divine; and yet not so strong, but it was frequently overleaped and disregarded.

WHERE

WHERE jealousy is the ruling passion, and the men have no ideas that the incontinence of their women can be restrained by principle, by the hope of reward, or the fear of punishment; and where the unsettled manner in which they live, does not allow them an opportunity of putting the sex under confinement; they practise other methods of a most despicable and odious nature, to secure the body, regardless perhaps how much the mind be contaminated. In many places of Arabia, but particularly in that part of it called Petræa, they perform an operation upon every female infant, which renders it impossible for her when grown up to have any commerce with the men. In consequence of this operation, when she enters into matrimony, another is absolutely necessary to restore her to the natural state of her sex. The ancient Germans, and several other northern nations, sensible that chastity was most likely to be preserved inviolate by a decency of behaviour between the two sexes; and supposing that this decency could not be properly maintained where familiarity was allowed, prohibited the men even from touching the women, and laid a fine upon them according

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to the part touched. In Great Britain there were laws of this nature even so late as the ninth century.

It is not a little curious to survey the various methods made use of in different parts of the world to accomplish the same end. In Poland, the chastity of young girls is endeavoured to be secured by a contrivance hardly less singular, though not so humiliating as some of these we have now mentioned: most of the young women belonging to the peasants have little bells fastened to various parts of their cloaths, to give notice to their mothers and other female guardians where they go, that those may always have it in their power to detect them, should they attempt to intrigue or secrete themselves from their view. Where women are no farther regarded than as the means of gratifying animal love, methods like the foregoing may be necessary, or at least attended with little mischief to society or the peace of individuals; but where they are intended for the more exalted purposes of being friends and companions, they should be managed in a very different manner. Locks, spies, and bodily restrictions then become

become highly improper, as they tend only to debase their minds, corrupt their morals, and render them despicable; circumstances which ought to be guarded against with the utmost attention, because where the mind is debased and contaminated, the body is not worth the trouble of preserving.

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IN all countries where the religion of Rome is established, chastity is endeavoured to be preserved by the artifice of auricular confession; the institutors of which probably imagined, that unchastity was a crime which female delicacy would never allow any woman to divulge; and as damnation was infallibly annexed to concealing any crime from the father confessor, it was consequently a crime which no woman would ever commit. But however well contrived this plan may appear, experience has fully demonstrated its insufficiency, and shewn that the Roman catholic women, notwithstanding this additional impediment in the way of incontinence, are in that respect nearly on a footing with the rest of their neighbours, who have no such stumbling-block in their way.

As

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As timidity is one of the most distinguishing peculiarities which mark the female character, the exposure to public shame is consequently one of the most powerful methods of laying hold of the minds of the sex; the laws of society, as well as those of religious institutions, have therefore availed themselves of it, and made it, among every polished people, one of the severest parts of the punishment to which the female delinquent, who has departed from the path of rectitude, is exposed; and on that account one of the greatest obstacles which can be thrown in the road to unchastity. This appears from the conduct of the women of Iceland, when the public shame attending incontinency was suspended on the following occasion. In the year one thousand seven hundred and seven, a great part of the inhabitants of Iceland having died of a contagious distemper, the king of Denmark, in order to repeople the country in a more expeditious manner than the common rules of procreation admitted of, made a law, authorising all young women to have each six bastards, without being exposed to any shame, or suffering the loss of reputation. This succeeded beyond the expectation of
the

the monarch; and the young women employed themselves so sedulously in the affair of population, that, in a few years, it was thought necessary to abrogate the law, lest the country should be overstocked with inhabitants, and that sense of shame annexed to unchastity, so much obliterated from the female breast, that neither law nor custom would be able afterwards to revive it. Were it not almost self-evident to every one, that this public shame attending female indiscretion, is one of the strongest motives to secure their chastity, we might prove it more fully from other circumstances, but we shall only mention one which proves it to a demonstration. In those countries where no shame is annexed to any action, there is no public chastity; and this virtue flourishes the most, where its contrary vices are branded with the greatest degree of infamy.

BUT this public shame is only one of the many methods which we in this country make use of to secure the chastity of the sex. We call religion, policy, and honour to our aid; religion holds out in the one hand rewards of a most glorious nature, and punishments not less dreadful in the other. Policy shews

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shews how much the order, peace, and good government of society are influenced by female chastity; and how each of them are unhinged and destroyed by incontinence. Honour, likewise, comes in as an auxiliary, and holds up to their view the lustre and reputation which themselves and their families derive from their decency and regularity of conduct, and the stain and infamy they bring upon both by lewdness and debauchery. Thus restrained by shame, by the loss of society, and by the forfeiting all chance of a husband suitable to their rank. Thus encouraged by religion, by good policy, and honour, we trust such women as have arrived at the years of discretion to themselves, and experience fully demonstrates, that we place not our trust improperly; and that those methods are far more prevalent than locks, bars, eunuchs, and all the other barbarous expedients that have been fallen upon, by nations who have not attained to sensibility enough to clap the padlock on the female mind instead of the body. But though we suffer women of experience to be the guardians of their own virtue, over the young and the giddy who have not attained to that degree of reason requisite for governing
their

their passions, nor to that experience sufficient to direct them in the choice of a husband, custom has placed mothers, and other female relations, who by time and observation have acquired more knowledge of the world, whereby they are enabled to steer their young pupils with safety over the dangerous rocks of youthful passion and inexperience.

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THE inhabitants of the southern and northern regions of the globe, are in nothing more distinguishable from each other than the different methods of securing the chastity of their women. In the south, while every possible restriction is laid on the body, they hardly make use of one single precept to bind the mind. In the north, while they lay every possible restriction on the mind, the body is left entirely at liberty; and it is remarkable, that scarcely any of the religious systems of the south, either offer rewards to encourage chastity, or threaten punishments to deter from incontinence; while almost every religious system of the north has issued the most positive precepts against the indiscretion of the sex, and to a disobedience of these precepts annexed the most dreadful

Different
methods
of secur-
ing chasti-
ty in Asia
and Eu-
rope.

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punishment; even Mahometism, which is a compound of the religions of both hemispheres, terrifies not the female sinner with hell, nor any future state where she shall suffer for her levities; all that she has to fear on this head, is the displeasure and correction of her husband. While in the Edda, or sacred records of the ancient Scandanivians, future punishments of the most tremendous nature are held over the head of the delinquent, “ she is threatened with confinement “ in a place remote from the sun, where “ poison rains through a thousand openings, “ and a black winged dragon shall perpetu- “ devour her.” But it was not their religion only that breathed this spirit, the laws of almost all the northern nations constantly had the same intention, and not satisfied that their women should refrain from real unchastity only, they would not even allow of any thing that had the slightest appearance of indecorum, or that might raise improper ideas in the mind.

It would be an endless task to enumerate the laws which in every well-regulated country have the same tendency; suffice it to say, that in all such, every violent attempt

tempt on the virtue of women is punishable CHAP.
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either by death, corporal punishment, or loss of money. It would likewise be needless, we presume, to muster before our fair readers, the various interdictions against unchastity, almost every where to be met with in the rules of the Christian religion, interdictions which none of them, we hope, are unacquainted with, and to which few only do not pay a proper regard. When we therefore consider that almost all laws, human and divine, have so strongly inculcated chastity, when the ingenuity of every nation has been so strongly exerted in preserving it, we hope we need not join our feeble efforts in recommending it to our countrywomen in particular, and to the sex in general, as the greatest ornament of their character.

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Of the various Opinions entertained by different Nations concerning Women.

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Division
of the
human
genus.

THE human genus has, with no small degree of probability, been divided by naturalists into several distinct species, each marked with corporeal differences, which could hardly arise from custom or from climate, and with intellectual powers scarcely less indicative of this division than the marks of their bodies. These species, like those of most other animals, are again divided into sexes, with different sentiments and faculties, adapted to the different purposes for which they were intended. So far the distinctions are plain; but man has carried them farther, and arrogated to his sex, a superiority of body and mind which he cannot prove himself possessed of; for although we find in general through the whole of animated nature, the males of every species endowed with a degree of bodily strength superior to the females, yet we have no plain indication of any superiority conferred



ferred upon these males in the powers and faculties of their minds. Among the brute animals we do not recollect that any one has been hardy enough to contend for this male superiority; among human beings, however, it has been, and is still so strongly contended for, that we shall give a short view of this contention, as the history of one of the most peculiar opinions that have been entertained concerning the sex,

WHETHER this supposed superiority is, in civil life, owing to any arrogance inherent in male nature, or to the pride of more numerous acquisitions, we shall not at present examine. In savage life we may account for it upon another principle. We have already seen, that among uncivilized people, bodily strength was the only thing held in particular estimation; and women having rather a less portion of this than men, were on that account never so much esteemed, nor rated at so high a value. From the body it was easy to make a transition to the mind, and suppose its powers less extensible, because for want of opportunities they were less extended; hence an inferiority, which arose only from circumstances, was supposed

Women
reckoned
inferior to
men
among
savages,
and why.



to have arisen from nature, and the sex were accordingly treated as beings of an inferior order. But in savage life, the difference of bodily strength between the two sexes, is much less visible than in civil life. Captain Wallis informs us that Oberea, queen of Otaheite, lifted him over a marsh, when she gallanted him to her house, with as much ease as he could have done a little girl; and it is probable that there is still less difference in the faculties of the mind, and if there is any, it arises not so much from nature as from want of exertion.

Idea of
the infe-
riority of
women
extremely
ancient.

WHETHER the idea of female inferiority arose solely from what we have now mentioned is not altogether certain, but from whatever source it arose, we have the most undoubted proofs of its being so widely disseminated, that except among the Egyptians, and a few other nations, which borrowed the customs and culture of that people, it was from the most remote antiquity firmly established among all mankind. Women were by many of the ancients bought and sold, by some of them borrowed, lent, or given away at pleasure, and by almost all of them constantly treated as the private property

property of the men; circumstances which could not have happened had not the ideas entertained of that sex given rise to such unmerited severity.

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THIS mode of treating the females of our species is a singularity of behaviour peculiar to man, and has not originated from any thing he could observe around him; for the males of the brute animals do not, so far as we can discover, ever pretend to govern, direct, or dispose of their females; nor, unless in the strength of their bodies, can we discern that they are any way superior to them. The females of those animals that hunt for prey, are as sagacious in discovering and catching it as the males. The mare and the greyhound bitch, are as swift as the horse or the dog, of their species. The females of the feathered kind seem to be universally more intelligent than the males, particularly in rearing and taking care of their young. Hence it appears, that we cannot have learned from analogy to consider women as so much our inferiors; and if we impartially examine our claim of superiority we shall perhaps find, that unless with respect to the corporeal powers it is but

This idea
peculiar
to man.

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but ill-founded. But partiality and self-love in this examination generally give a bias to our judgments, and a fondness for the pursuits and studies in which we are engaged, makes us undervalue all such as are directed to different ends and purposes, though in themselves not less useful. Thus, men set the greatest value upon the martial abilities which distinguish them in the field, or upon the literary ones which make them conspicuous as statesmen and orators, while they hardly ever consider the excellence of female sprightliness and vivacity, qualities which diffuse gaiety and cheerfulness around them; nor these pains which the sex patiently suffer, and powers they exert, in raising up a generation to succeed us when we shall be no more. Are these less useful than the desolating arts of war, or even than the speculations of the statesman and improvements of the philosopher, or are the women less distinguished in them than the men are in the other?

BUT let us take a still nearer view of the matter, and we shall see that this boasted pre-eminence of the men is at least as much the work of art as of nature, and that

women

women in those savage states, where both sexes are alike unadorned by culture, are, perhaps, not at all inferior in abilities of mind to the other sex, and even scarcely inferior to them in strength of body. This subject is, however, of the most difficult nature; to investigate with precision the powers and propensities of women, it is necessary to be a woman; to investigate those of man, it is necessary to be a man; to compare them impartially, to be something different from either.

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SHOULD we endeavour to investigate this subject by considering man in a state of civil society, where, formed by art and tutored by education, he puts on appearances which he does not derive from nature, we should be led into endless error and absurdity. Let us therefore begin it by viewing him in those states that approach the nearest to nature, where we shall see the females endowed with the same patient endurance of hunger, thirst, cold, and fatigue, as the males; and where being inured from their infancy to toil, hardship, and a tempestuous climate, their bodies acquire nearly the same firm and robust appearance, and become capable of efforts

Comparison of the
sexes in
savage
life.

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scarcely less arduous; and their minds, like their bodies, acquiring strength by exercise, become not less intelligent, nor less distinguishable for stratagem and contrivance to catch their prey, or avoid danger. In such states, hunting and fishing are the chief employments of the men, and in these, when we consider the materials they have to work with, we cannot help owning that they shew no despicable share of ingenuity; proofs of which are the fishing-nets that our late discoverers found they made use of in the South Sea, which were much larger and better contrived than any hitherto seen in Europe. The fish-hooks which they made of shells and other materials, which in the hands of an European artist would be useless; and the various methods of decoying and snaring such wild beasts as they cannot otherwise destroy. Proofs of their genius may likewise be drawn from the manner in which they discover on the ground the tracks of these wild beasts, or of their enemies whom they are pursuing; from their sagacity in finding their way across long and pathless deserts, covered with wood, and from a variety of other circumstances: but this ingenuity extends itself only to the narrow circle of hunting

hunting, fishing, and war, beyond which CHAP.
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SUCH are men in savage life. In considering women, we shall see, that in the province to which they are confined, they at least equal their men in art and ingenuity. In some countries they have carried the art of dying certain colours to no inconsiderable degree of perfection. In others, that of making trinkets and ornaments of such materials as in Europe we could not turn to any possible use. Their method of bringing up children is almost every where more agreeable to nature, and consequently preferable to that of more polished nations; but here their progress is nearly at an end; and like the men, their little span of knowledge and invention is confined within a narrow circle, which from the beginning of time, like the sea, has had its "*hitherto shalt thou come, but no farther.*"

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ON comparing the aggregate of the corporeal and intellectual powers of the two sexes in savage life, the difference will appear much less than it generally does on a superficial view. Though in the hunting, fishing, and warlike excursions of the men, there appears a considerable share of art and ingenuity, yet these are in a stationary condition, and time immemorial have been taught by fathers to their sons, without the sons ever having deviated from the road chalked out by their fathers, or thinking of adding any improvements to what they perhaps considered as already perfect. Though, in dying, and making of trinkets, as practised by the women, there is also an appearance of art, we have not the least doubt, that they are rather customary operations, which have for many ages been performed without the smallest improvement or variation, this we the more readily believe, when we consider, that in many places the domestic employments and œconomy of savages, is nearly the same as in the patriarchal ages.

Share of
each sex
in pro-
gressive
improve-
ment.

WHEN, from savage life, we proceed to consider the share that each sex has had in the progress of these improvements, which lead



lead to civilization, it appears, that each, in its proper sphere, has contributed nearly, in an equal proportion, to this great and valuable purpose. The Egyptians ascribed the invention of many valuable medicines to Isis, and consecrated her goddess of health. The art of spinning, one of the most useful that ever was invented, is, by all antiquity, ascribed to women: the Jews give it to Naamah, the daughter of Lamech; the Egyptians give the honour of it to Isis; the Chinese, to the consort of their emperor Yao. This, and the art of sewing, an art hardly less necessary, the fables and traditions of almost all nations ascribe to the fair sex. The Lydians ascribed them to Arachne; the Greeks to Minerva; the ancient Peruvians to Mama-Oella, wife to Manco-capac, their first sovereign; and the Romans gave the invention, not only of spinning and sewing, but also of weaving, to their women. Such, and perhaps many others of a similar nature, were the contributions of female genius towards the utility and convenience of life; contributions which at least equal, if not rival, whatever has been done by the boasted ingenuity of man.

WHEN

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WHEN we survey the vast continents of Africa and America, where almost every thing but fishing and hunting devolves on the women, we there see pasturage and agriculture, with the other arts which contribute to the convenience of life, in the same rude state in which they were in the days of Homer; the arts and sciences hardly known, letters totally disregarded, and domestic œconomy extremely rude and imperfect. Such, in general, is the condition of all countries, where almost every thing is left to the management of their women. But even this is no absolute sign of their inferiority, or want of genius; they are here taken out of that sphere, which nature marked out for them, and introduced into another, to which she neither adapted their talents nor abilities. And we may with equal reason blame the men for not improving the arts of spinning, and of nursing; as the women for not improving agriculture and the other arts, to which male talents and abilities only are adapted.

WHEN from these countries we turn towards Europe, where almost every thing is managed and directed by the men, a different

ferent scene presents itself: there we not only find a great variety of improvements, but a laudable spirit of emulation, a thirst after new discoveries, universally prevailing; and frequently producing fresh acquisitions to the stock of knowledge, and to the conveniences of life. These, at first view, seem plain indications, that the genius of men, in leading the human species from an uncultivated to a cultivated state, is superior to that of women; but, on more deliberate consideration, they prove no more than that each sex has its particular qualities, and is fitted by the Author of nature for accomplishing different purposes.

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WHAT we have now advanced, points out to us one reason, why women have seldom or never contributed to the improvement of the abstract sciences: but there is still another reason; the sex are almost every where neglected in their education, every where in some degree slaves; and it is well known, that slavery throws a damp on the genius, clouds the spirits, and takes more than half the worth away. The history of every period, and of every people, presents us with some extraordinary women, who

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who have soared above these disadvantages, and shone in all the different characters, which render men eminent and conspicuous. Syria furnishes us with a Semiramis, Africa with a Zenobia; both famous for their heroism and skill in government. Greece and Rome, with many who set public examples of courage and fortitude; Germany and England have exhibited queens, whose talents in the field, or in the cabinet, would have done honour to either sex; but it was reserved for Russia, in the person of the present Empress, to join both these illustrious talents together, and to add to them, what is still more noble, an inclination to favour the sciences, and restore and secure the natural rights of her subjects; rights which almost every other sovereign has endeavoured to destroy.

Difference
of the
sexes in
civil life
accounted
for.

WE have just now seen, that, in savage life, the sexual difference, as far as it regards strength and activity of body, is not very considerable; as society advances, this difference becomes more perceptible; and in countries the most polished, is so conspicuous as to appear even to the slightest observer. In such countries, the women are,
qualities



In general, weak and delicate; but these qualities are only the result of art, otherwise they would uniformly mark the sex, however circumstanced; but as this is not the case, we may attribute them to a sedentary life, a low abstemious diet, and exclusion from the fresh air; nor do these causes stop here; their influence reaches farther, and is productive of that laxity of the female fibres, and sensibility of nerves; which, while it gives birth to half their foibles, is the source also of many of the finer and more delicate feelings, for which we value and admire them; and of which, bodies of a firmer texture, and stronger nerves are entirely destitute. However paradoxical this may appear to those who have not attended to the subject, we scruple not to affirm, that want of exercise, confined air, and low diet, will soon reduce, not only the most robust body, but the most resolute mind, to a set of weaknesses and feelings similar to these of the most delicate and timorous female. This being the case, we lay it down as a general rule, that the difference of education, and of the mode of living, are the principal causes of the corporeal and mental differences, which distinguish the sexes from each

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other; and we persuade ourselves, that nature, in forming the bodies and the minds of both sexes, has been nearly alike liberal to each; and that any apparent difference in the exertions of the strength of the one, or the reasonings of the other, are much more the work of art than of nature.

Female
inferiority
deduced from
a wrong
standard.

We know it is a generally established opinion, that in strength of mind, as well as of body, men are greatly superior to women; an opinion into which we have been led, by not duly considering the proper propensities, and paths chalked out to each by the Author of their nature. Men are endowed with boldness and courage, women are not; the reason is plain, these are beauties in our character, in theirs they would be blemishes. Our genius often leads us to the great and the arduous. Theirs to the soft and the pleasing. We bend our thoughts to make life convenient. They turn theirs to make it easy and agreeable. Would it be difficult for women to acquire the endowments allotted to us by nature? It would be as much so for us to acquire those peculiarly allotted to them. Are we superior to them in what belongs to the male character? they are no less

less so to us in what belongs to the female. But whether are male or female endowments most useful in life? This we shall not pretend to determine; and, till it be determined, we cannot decide the claim, which men or women have to superior excellence. But to pursue this idea a little farther; Would it not be highly ridiculous to find fault with the snail, because she is not as swift as the hare, or with the lamb, because he is not so bold as the lion? Would it not be requiring from each an exertion of powers that nature had not given, and deciding of their excellence, by comparing them to a wrong standard? Would it not appear rather ludicrous to say, that a man was endowed only with inferior abilities, because he was not expert in the nursing of children, and practising the various effeminacies, which we reckon lovely in a woman? Would it be reasonable to condemn him on these accounts? Just as reasonable is it, to reckon women inferior to men, because their talents are in general not adapted to tread the horrid path of war, nor to trace the mazes and intricacies of science. Horace, who is by all allowed to have been an adept in the knowledge of mankind, says, “In vain do we endeavour

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“to expel what nature has planted.” And we may add, In vain do we endeavour to instil what she has not planted. Equally absurd is it to compare women to men, and to pronounce them inferior, because they have not the same qualities in the same perfection.

WE shall finish this subject, by observing, that if women are really inferior to men, they are the most so in nations the most highly polished and refined; there, in point of bodily strength, for the reasons already assigned, they are certainly inferior; and such is the influence of body upon mind, that to their laxity of body we may fairly trace many, if not all the weaknesses of mind, which we are apt to reckon blemishes in the female character. Those who have been constantly blessed with a robust constitution, and a mind not delicately susceptible, may laugh at this assertion as ridiculous; while those, in whom accidental weakness of body has given birth to nervous feelings, with which they were never before acquainted, will view it in another light. But there is a further reason for the greater difference between the sexes in civil than in savage

savage life, which is, the difference of education; while the intellectual powers of males are gradually opened and expanded by culture, in a variety of forms; those of females are commonly either left to nature, or, which is worse, warped and biased by fantastical instruction, dignified by the name of education. To this reason we may add another: Men, every where the legislators, have every where prescribed to women, rules, which instead of weaker natures, and less governable passions, require natures more perfect, and passions more under subjection; and because women have not always observed these rules, the men have reckoned them weak, wicked, and irrestrainable in their pursuit of sensual gratifications.

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THIS idea of the inferiority of female nature, has drawn after it several others the most absurd, unreasonable, and humiliating to the sex. Such is the pride of man, that wherever the doctrine of immortality has obtained footing, he has entirely confined that immortality to his own genus, and considered it as a prerogative much too exalted for any other beings. And in some countries, not stopping here, he has also considered it as a distinction

Other opinions resulting from the idea of female inferiority.

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distinction too glorious for women. Thus degrading the fair partners of his nature, he places them on a level with the beasts that perish. When, or where this opinion first began, is uncertain. It could not, however, be of very ancient date; for the belief of immortality never obtained much footing till it was revealed by the Gospel. As the Asiatics have time immemorial considered women only as instruments of animal pleasure, and objects of slavery, it probably originated among them, which we the more firmly believe, when we consider, that the Mahometans, both in Asia and in Europe, are said, by a great variety of writers, to entertain this opinion. Lady Montague, in her Letters, has opposed this general assertion of the writers concerning the Mahometans, and says, that they do not absolutely deny the existence of female souls, but only hold them to be of a nature inferior to those of men, and that they enter not into the same, but into an inferior paradise prepared for them on purpose. We pretend not to decide the dispute between Lady Montague and the other writers, whom she has contradicted, but think it possible that both may be right; as the former might be the opinion the

the Turks brought with them from Asia; CHAP. XVIII.
 the latter, as a refinement upon it, they may
 have adopted by their intercourse with the
 Europeans.

THIS opinion, that women were a sort of mechanical beings, created only for the pleasures of the men, whatever votaries it may have had in the East, has had but few in Europe; a few, however, have even here maintained it, and assigned various, and sometimes laughable reasons for so doing: among these, a story we have heard of a Scots clergyman is not the least particular. This peaceable son of Levi, whose wife was a descendant of the famous Xantippe*, in going through a course of lectures on the Revelations of St. John, from that abstruse writer imbibed an opinion, that the sex had no souls, and were incapable of future rewards and punishments. It was no sooner known in the country that he maintained such a doctrine, than he was summoned before a presbytery of his brethren, to be dealt with according to his delinquency. When

* Xantippe was the wife of Socrates, and the most famous scold of antiquity.

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he appeared at their bar, they asked him, If he really held so heretical an opinion? He told them plainly that he did. On desiring to be informed of his reasons for so doing, “In the Revelations of St. John the Divine,” said he, “you will find this passage;” “And there was silence in heaven for about the space of half an hour:” “Now I appeal to all of you, whether that could possibly have happened had there been any women there? And since there are none there, charity forbids us to imagine that they are all in a worse place; therefore it follows, that they have no immortal part; and happy is it for them, as they are thereby exempted from being accountable for all the noise and disturbance they have raised in this world.”

SOME tribes of the Asiatic Tartars are of the same opinion with this reverend gentleman. “Women,” say they, “were sent into the world only to be our servants, and propagate the species, the only purposes to which their natures are adapted;” on this account their women are no sooner past child-bearing, than believing that they have accomplished the design of their creation,
the

the men no farther cohabit with, or regard them. The ancient Chinese carried this idea still farther; women, according to some of them, were the most wicked and malevolent of all the beings which had been created; and it is said that their great philosopher Confucius advised, that on this account they should always be put to death as soon as past child-bearing, as they could then be of no farther use, and only contributed to the *disturbance* of society. Ideas of a similar nature seem to have been at this time generally diffused over the East*; for we find Solomon, almost every where in his writings, exclaiming against the wickedness of women; and in the Apocrypha, the author of the Ecclesiasticus, is still more illiberal in his reflections: "From garments," says he, "cometh a moth, and from women wickedness." Both these authors, it is true, join in the most enraptured manner to praise a virtuous woman, but take care at the same

* In a very ancient treatise, called the Wisdom of all Times, ascribed to Hushang, one of the earliest kings of Persia, are the following remarkable words. "The passions of men, may, by long acquaintance be thoroughly known, but the passions of women are inscrutable; therefore they ought to be separated from men, lest the mutability of their tempers should infect others."

CHAP. XVIII. time to let us know, that she is so great a
 rarity as to be very seldom met with.

Illiberal
 reflections
 on the
 sex.

NOR have the Asiatics alone been addicted to this illiberality of thinking concerning the sex. Satirists of all ages and countries, while they flattered them to their faces, have from their closets most profusely scattered their spleen and ill-nature against them. Of this the Greek and Roman poets afford a variety of instances; but they must nevertheless yield the palm to our doughty moderns. In the following lines, Pope has outdone every one of them:

“ Men some to pleasure, some to business
 “ take,
 ‘ But every woman is at heart a rake.”

Swift and Dr. Young have hardly been behind this celebrated splenetic in illiberality. They perhaps were not favourites of the fair, and in revenge vented all their envy and spleen against them. But a more modern and accomplished writer, who by his rank in life, by his natural and acquired *graces*, was undoubtedly a favourite, has repaid their kindness by taking every opportunity of exhibiting them in the most contemptible

temptible light. “Almost every man,” says C H A P.
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he, “may be gained someway; almost every
“woman any way.” Can any thing exhibit
a stronger caution to the sex? It is fraught
with information, and we hope they will use
it accordingly.

IN the illiberal ideas entertained of female inferiority, the Americans seem scarcely less remarkable than any of the people we have now mentioned; both sexes are exceedingly fond of diving into the secrets of futurity, and persuade themselves, or at least, the credulous part of their neighbours, that they are no inconsiderable adepts in foretelling them. Their intelligence is always supposed to be received from spirits, and it is worth observing, as it strongly marks their mean opinion of the sex, that the men according to their ideas, constantly receive their intelligence from good and benevolent spirits, and the women from wicked and malicious ones. Another thing which not less strongly marks this opinion is, that every thing which they suppose would disgrace a man, must be done by a woman. We have already given several instances of this, and shall only add another: Such of

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their prisoners of war, as bear the torments inflicted on them with heroical insensibility, are generally at last dispatched by the men; those that have not done so, unworthy of falling by the hands of a man, are always dispatched by the women; an indignity which they suppose they have merited by their pusillanimity.

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The same Subject continued.

BESIDES the opinions which have been entertained of women, in consequence of their supposed inferiority, there is one scarcely less ancient or less universal, which has originated from a very different source; and supposes the sex always to have been peculiarly addicted to hold a communication with invisible beings, who endowed them with powers superior to human nature; the exercise of which has been distinguished by the name of witchcraft.

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Opinions concerning the intercourse of the sex with invisible beings.

THAT a notion of this kind prevailed in an early period of the world, we learn from the story of Saul the first king of Israel, who went to consult the witch of Endor concerning his fate, and that of the war in which he was engaged. From that time downward, both sacred and prophane history make it plainly appear, that this belief of witches, or dealers with familiar spirits, *as they are called*, was almost universally disseminated over

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over the whole world; infomuch that we are hardly acquainted with the history of any people, either ancient or modern, among whom it has not gained some degree of credit. Even the inhabitants of the sequestered islands in the South Sea, who have not, perhaps, from the beginning of time, had any communication with the rest of mankind, have imbibed the general opinion; as we may learn from several anecdotes, in the voyages lately published by Hawksworth and others.

IN our times this superstitious idea of witchcraft is most prevalent, among people who are the least cultivated. In some periods of antiquity, the reverse seems to have been the case; for the Greeks, even in their most flourishing and enlightened state, were almost in every circumstance the dupes of it; and the Romans following their example were, perhaps, still more so. Nothing either sportive or serious, trifling or consequential, was undertaken in Greece or Rome, without the performance of some superstitious ceremonies, reckoned absolutely necessary to insure its success.

ALL



ALL the ancient inhabitants of the North paid the greatest regard both to the persons and dictates of such women as were reckoned witches, and the opinion they entertained of the existence of such beings was transmitted down to their posterity, who, after the conquest of the Roman Empire, had peopled all Europe; but the doctrines of christianity, which were now introduced, changed the veneration for witches into the utmost hatred and detestation; and instead of the honours that were formerly heaped upon them, such unhappy beings as were now suspected of that crime, became subject to the most horrid barbarities that a blinded legislature and a furiously enthusiastic populace could inflict.

How the original idea of witches was at first suggested to mankind is not easily accounted for; it is still more difficult to assign a reason, why this idea was in all ages so intimately connected with women, and particularly with old women. The witch of Endor is introduced as an old woman, and in every subsequent period, historians, painters, and poets, have all exhibited their witches as old women. Nor can we without pain

Idea of
witch-
craft inti-
mately
connected
with old
women.

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pain relate, that a majority of those unhappy creatures condemned a few centuries ago in all the criminal courts of Europe, were old women. Might we hazard a conjecture on this subject, we would suppose that in the earlier ages of the world, while women were only kept as instruments of animal pleasure, and only valued while they had youth and beauty, as soon as these were over, they were deserted by society, and left to languish in solitude; where, by reflection and experience they acquired a wisdom, which made them more conspicuous than the ignorant crowd from which they had been exiled, and gave birth to a notion, that they were assisted by invisible agents.

Origin of
the ideas
of witch-
craft.

THIS may in some measure explain to us the origin of the idea of witches, so far as it relates to old women, but leaves the origin of the general idea still involved in the same obscurity. We flatter ourselves, however, that some light may be thrown even on the general idea, by the following observations. We are told by scripture, that in the earlier periods of the world, a communication between celestial and human beings was not uncommon. God appeared
to



to our first parents in the garden of Eden; the angels came to Lot, to warn him of the destruction of Sodom; to Abraham, to intimate to him the birth of a son in his old age; and Moses is said to have seen God face to face, when he received from him the tables upon the mount. Nor was this opinion peculiar to the Israelites, the gods of the other nations were said almost constantly to live with them, to appear in a familiar manner and communicate their orders to them, and even to beget children upon their women. Thus Osiris descended from heaven to reign in Egypt, where, having taught the arts of civil life, he at last left behind him a progeny of demi-gods. Bacchus taught mankind the use of the grape, and Ceres, *a female divinity*, instructed them in the use of corn; even Jupiter, their supreme deity, repeatedly came down to the earth, and cohabited with their women. When such were the ideas generally disseminated, that good beings of all denominations frequently appeared to, and communicated some of their knowledge and power to mortals, it was but carrying them one step farther, and supposing that evil beings, likewise did the same thing. Nor does this seem

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altogether conjecture, for mention is made in the sacred writings of evil spirits, who had their false prophets, to whom they dictated lies, in order to lead to destruction those who listened to them. Those who were supposed to communicate with good beings were called prophets, and those who communicated with evil ones, witches, wizards, &c.

Why women were thought more addicted to witchcraft than men.

SUCH possibly might be the origin of witchcraft, and such the reasons why old women were most commonly suspected of it. But it still remains to be considered why the sex in general were thought to have been more addicted to it than the men. The reasons of this also may, perhaps, be discovered in the different habitudes and customs of the two sexes. From the remotest antiquity, the men inured to hunting, fishing, and pasturage, were constantly abroad in the open air; they were consequently healthful and robust, and not subject to these nervous weaknesses and spasmodic fits which so strongly characterise modern ages, and have often been supposed the effect of witchcraft. The women, on the contrary, of a more delicate frame, more confined by their domestic



domestic employments, by the jealousy of their husbands and relations, and, perhaps, even more simple in their diet, would be much more subject to nervous weaknesses, and all the uncommon appearances that sometimes attend them. In the paroxysms of these nervous disorders, they would frequently utter the most strange and incoherent language, and as the ancient manner of conveying instruction and predicting future events, was commonly in this unconnected allegorical strain, accompanied with extraordinary gestures and contorsions of the body, such rhapsodical effusions, the mere effect of nervous irritability, might be easily mistaken for the inspiration either of good or of evil beings, and therefore women, being more subject to such fits than men, might be more commonly denominated prophetesses, or witches, according to the nature of the spirit with which it was supposed they were agitated.

As the sacred writings so frequently mention witches, wizzards, and dealers with familiar spirits, we might from thence imagine that such ideas existed among the Jews only ; were not the other writings of anti-

All antiquity full of the ideas of witchcraft.

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quity every where as full of them, a circumstance we cannot wonder at, when we consider that such ideas were much more favoured by the polytheism of the Gentiles, than by the belief of one Supreme Almighty Being, taught by the Jews. Among the Gentiles also, as well as among the Jews, it is probable there were female enchantresses, though we do not recollect to have met with any account of them till we come to the Greeks, who exhibit them every where in their fables and their history, as beings possessed of the most astonishing and supernatural powers. Medea is said to have taught Jason to tame the brazen-footed bulls, and the dragons which guarded the golden fleece. Hecate, and several others are said to have been so skilful in spells and incantations, that, among their other feats, they could turn the most obdurate hearts to love, as we shall have occasion to mention afterward in our history of courtship. Circe, we are told, detained even the sage Ulysses in her enchanted island, and transformed his sailors into swine. Besides these, there were many others who, like the witches of our modern times, could inflict diseases, raise tempests in the air, and ride on the clouds from one country

country to another. Nor were the Romans less the dupes of this pretended art than the Greeks; the whole of their historians and poets are full of the follies and absurdities to which it reduced them; Horace frequently mentions a Canidia, who was reckoned a most powerful enchantress; and Virgil makes one of his shepherds declare, that such was the power of charms, that they could draw down the moon from the sky. But the Romans were not the only people of antiquity who carried their ideas thus far, the Babylonians boasted that all the contingencies of fate were in their hands, and that by their magical ceremonies, they were able to avert every evil, and procure every good. Doctrines of a nature not much dissimilar appear to have been spread over other countries in the East; for about Calcutta they formerly consulted forcerers concerning the destiny of their children, and if the prediction promised happiness they were spared to live, but if the contrary, they were put to death as soon as born. The Japanese at this day pay the most unlimited credit to sorceries, incantations, lucky and unlucky days, and publish every year an almanac, pointing them out to the public, left upon

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upon the unlucky ones they should transact any business, which they imagine in that case could not possibly prosper.

The ancient northerners remarkable for their belief in witchcraft

ALMOST every ignorant people are the dupes of superstition, which in nothing displays itself more evidently than in fruitless attempts to become acquainted with the secrets of futurity; hence the Greeks and Romans, and perhaps all antiquity, were fond of consulting oracles, and persons supposed to be inspired with a power of divination. But the northern nations much exceeded all others, and carried this spirit to the most unaccountable length. The Scandianivians, Germans, Gauls, Britons, &c. were of all people perhaps the most ignorant, and of all, the greatest slaves to superstition; their Druids and Druidesses exercised an authority over them, which even the most absolute monarch of the present times would not dare to attempt; but not to those only did they yield an implicit obedience, they obeyed, esteemed, and even venerated every female who pretended to deal in charms and incantations, and the dictates of such, as they were supposed to come from the invisible powers, were

were more regarded than the laws of nature, of humanity, or of their country. Velleda, a forcerefs, in the Batavian war, governed in the name of the deity, the fiercest nations of Germany, and effectually fecured their obedience by this superstitious veneration. The women, when in the field, confulted omens, and as they were prosperous or adverfe, ordered the armies to engage their enemies, or to delay it till another time. Nay, fome of them were even worhipped as divinities, and altars with infcriptions to their honour, have been lately found in Germany and in Britain. The life of their warriors was fuch as fecured them a firmnefs of nerves, and freedom from nervous hypochondriac diforders: their women being more fubject to them by nature, and by their manner of life, were, in all their fits, confidered as infpired by fome divinity, and regarded accordingly.-----Women in the North have almoft folely appropriated to themfelves the trade of divination, men have had the largeft fhare of it in the South, the reafon is, men in the South are, by the climate and their low diet of rice and fruit, fubject to all the difeafes of women, and women are precluded from all communication with the public.

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AMONG

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AMONG the ancient inhabitants of the North, nothing was held so sacred as poetry and divination. A troop of poets, called Bards, commonly attended on the great; not to grace their train, but in the effusions of frantic doggerel, to celebrate their exploits, and praise their victories. Besides these, there were generally in the train of the rich and powerful some venerable prophetesses, who directed their councils, and to whom they paid a deference and respect, at present almost incredible; but these very beings whom they so much venerated, in process of time became the objects of hatred and detestation, and were condemned to whips, horse-ponds, flames, and every species of cruelty that misguided zeal could inflict. Upon a change so important in manners and behaviour, the following considerations will, we hope, throw some light.

Reasons
why man-
kind
changed
their opi-
nion of
witches.

EVERY system of theology, from the beginning of time, was filled with the doctrine of a communication between celestial and terrestrial beings. The Jewish religion was remarkably full of it: the Jews, therefore, greatly venerated such human beings as they thought were thus dignified with the
correspon-



correspondence of spiritual essences. The polytheism of the Gentiles, their different ranks and degrees of gods, and the few degrees of distinction between their gods and their heroes, made it no great wonder, that this communication among them was still supposed to be more common. Among the Jews it would seem, that some small degree of inferiority was affixed to those who were supposed to draw their knowledge of future events from evil spirits; but among most of the neighbouring nations, they had hardly any such distinction as evil and good spirits; they had indeed *Dii Infernales*, or infernal gods; but they made so little difference between these infernal gods and their celestial ones, that they paid to each of them almost an equal share of worship and adoration; hence those who foretold events, by a communication with the one kind, were hardly less esteemed, than those who foretold them by a communication with the other. But when the Christian religion was introduced, it made such a distinction between good and evil spirits, that the trade of predicting by the supposed assistance of the latter, became not only dishonourable, but criminal. Every one who pretended to that trade, was de-

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nominated witch, or wizzard; and against all such, the obsolete Jewish law, which says, *Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live*, was revived; and the same profession, which we have before seen raising prophets and prophetesses to the highest veneration and dignity, now subjected them to flames and a variety of other punishments.

Cruelties
exercised
on sup-
posed
witches.

FROM the twelfth to the sixteenth century, almost all Europe was one scene of highly ridiculous opinions; to maintain which, kings led forth their armies, piously to cut the throats of their neighbours; and priests condemned to the flames in this world, and threatened eternal fire in the world to come. Many of those opinions were, however, but local; and many sunk into oblivion with the authors who first broached them; but the notion of females being addicted to witchcraft had taken deep root, and spread itself over all Europe. It had been gathering strength from the days of Moses; and it subsisted till the enquiring spirit of philosophy, demonstrated by the plainest experiments, that many of those things which had always been supposed the effect of supernatural, were really the effect of natural

natural causes. No sex, no rank, no age, was exempted from the suspicions of, and punishments inflicted on the perpetrators of this supposed crime; but old women were, of all other beings, the most liable to be suspected of it. Poets had delineated, and painters had drawn all their witches as old women, with haggard and wrinkled countenances, withered hands, and tottering limbs; these, which were only characteristic symptoms of old age, had, by an unhappy assemblage of unconnected ideas, become also the characteristic symptoms of witchcraft. Hence every old woman, bowed down with age and infirmity, was commonly dubbed with the appellation of witch; and when any event happened in her neighbourhood, for which the ignorance of the times was not able to account, she was immediately suspected as the cause; and in consequence committed to jail by an ignorant magistrate, and condemned by as ignorant a judge. Or what, perhaps, was worse than either, made the sport of a ruffian multitude, heated by enthusiasm, and led on by folly; which a few centuries ago ran to such a pitch of extravagance, that in Livonia, and some other parts of the North, it is said, that not

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many women who had arrived at old age were suffered to die peaceably in their beds, but were either hurried to an untimely execution, or so much abused by a licentious populace, that death was frequently the consequence.

BUT the suspicions of witchcraft were not altogether confined to age and poverty; neither the bloom of youth and beauty, nor the dignity of rank could afford any safety. In France, England, and Germany, ladies of the highest quality were condemned to the stake for crimes of which it was impossible they could be guilty. But when crimes are either highly improbable or altogether impossible, the proof required to be brought against those who are supposed to have committed them, is on that account generally sustained as valid, though much less clear than in other cases. Thus it was with witchcraft, while it required some degree of rational and consistent evidence, to ascertain any other crime, this was ascertained by idle and ridiculous tales, or, in short, by any shadow of evidence whatever. Such being the case, statesmen often availed themselves of witchcraft,
as

as a pretence to take off persons who were obnoxious to them, and against whom no other crime could be proved. This was the pretence made use of for condemning the Maid of Orleans, well known in the history of England and of France; who, by her personal courage, and the power she assumed over the minds of a superstitious people, by persuading them that Heaven was on their side, delivered her country from the most formidable invasion which had ever threatened its subversion. Such was the pretence for destroying the Dutchess de Conchini; who, being asked by her judges, What methods she had practised to fascinate the Queen of France? boldly replied, “Only “by that ascendancy which great minds have “over little ones.” Nothing was too absurd in these times to gain credit; and proofs only became the more valid as they were the more ridiculous. Under Manuel Comnenus, one of the Greek emperors, an officer of high rank at Constantinople, was condemned for practising secrets that rendered men invisible. And another had like to have shared the same fate, because he was caught reading a book of Solomon’s, the bare perusal of which, they said, was sufficient to conjure

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conjure up whole legions of devils. The Dutchess of Gloucester, with Mary Gurdemain, and a priest, were accused of having made a figure of Henry VI. in wax, and roasting it before the fire; though the action itself was ridiculous, and though there was no proof of it, nor possibility of the consequences which they imagined had arisen from it, they were all three found guilty; the priest was hanged, Gurdemain was burnt in Smithfield, and the Dutchess condemned to penance and perpetual imprisonment. The Duke of Gloucester, who was regent to Edward V. shewed an emaciated arm in the council-chamber; and his really having an arm withered, was deemed a sufficient proof, not only that it was done by forcery, but that the forcerers were the wife of his brother, and Jane Shore. To what a low ebb was human reason reduced, when from such premises it could draw such conclusions!

FOR several ages, during the times we are now considering, every jail in Europe was filled with supposed criminals, every tribunal with judges and prosecutors blinded by ignorance, fired with the most intemperate zeal, and

and eager to vie with each other in extirpating crimes which it was utterly impossible to prove; and what is not a little surprizing, they considered even the existence of these crimes, as a proof of the validity of the faith which they professed. They reproached the Turks, because they had neither forcerers nor witches; and asserted that their having no devils to cast out, was a proof of the falsity of their religion. To contemplate ages so blind and barbarous; to hold up to view the horrid deeds transacted in them, is the most disagreeable part of that task which a regard for truth imposes on the historian: truth, however, obliges us to relate, that there have been in Europe one hundred thousand supposed witches, condemned to all the excruciating tortures with which insatiate fury could inflict death. Ignorance and misguided zeal, plead some excuse for the times in which man so foolishly destroyed his species; but the frenzy did not altogether disappear with the ignorance that gave birth to it. Many hapless wretches suffered for pretended crimes, even after reason and philosophy had made no inconsiderable progress. So late as the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-eight

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eight, an old woman in Wurtzburg, was condemned for witchcraft, and burnt, by a people who boasted that they had trampled superstition under their feet, and plumed themselves on the reformation of their manners and their religion.

Decline of
witchcraft
and its
causes.

SUCH was the condition of women in Europe for several centuries, constantly liable to be accused of, and punished for, crimes which had no existence; till philosophy at last came to rescue them from their danger, by dissipating the gloom of ignorance which had for ages enveloped the human mind; and teaching men to prefer reason to opinion, however the latter might be sanctified by time, or strengthened by the celebrated names from which it had originated. But the struggle between reason and opinion was not the struggle of a day or a year, it lasted for several ages, and is not at this hour completely decided.

WHAT reason and philosophy had achieved in Europe, was accomplished in America by shame and remorse. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, some of the most gloomy bigots of several nations, to
avoid

avoid the persecutions to which they were subjected by the intolerant spirit of the times, had emigrated to the inhospitable deserts of America; these carried along with them into that New world, the same ideas of forcery which they had imbibed in Europe, and the same intolerant spirit from which they had fled. Though they had accounted it exceedingly hard, that in their native country they were persecuted for religious opinions, yet they soon imposed the same hardships upon others, from which they themselves had fled with so much horror; and had but just begun to breathe from a cruel persecution against the Quakers and Anabaptists, when a new suppositious danger alarmed their fears, and set the whole country of New England in a ferment. A clergyman in Salem had two daughters, one of whom falling into an hystERIC disorder, attended with convulsions, the father concluded she was bewitched. An Indian maid-servant was suspected of the crime; and so often beat and otherwise cruelly treated by her wrong-headed master, that she at last confessed herself guilty, and was committed to prison; from whence, after a long confinement, she was at last released to be sold for a slave.



THE idea was now started; every similar complaint was supposed to proceed from a similar cause, and the affected, naturally accused those who were real or supposed enemies. Every evil that befel the human body, was in a little while asserted to be the effect of witchcraft. Every enemy to the afflicted was accused, and every accusation certainly proved. In default of rational proof, an evidence called *spectral*, and never before heard of, was admitted; on the validity of which, many were condemned to suffer death. The most common, and most innocent actions of life, were now construed to be magical ceremonies. Every one, filled with horror, and diffident of his neighbours, was forward to accuse all around him. Neither age, sex, nor character, afforded the least protection. Women were stripped in the most shameful manner to search for magical teats. Scorbutic or other stains on the skin, were called the devil's pinches; and these pinches afforded the most undeniable evidence against the wretch upon whom they were discovered. But if any thing was wanting in evidence, it was amply supplied by the confession extorted by tortures, of so cruel a nature, and so long continuance, that they

they forced the unhappy sufferers to acknowledge themselves guilty of whatever their tormenters chose to lay to their charge. Women owned various and ridiculous correspondencies with infernal spirits, and even that such had frequently cohabited with them. Nor were the wretches under torture more pressed to discover their own guilt than that of others; when it frequently happened, that, unable to give any account of real criminals, they were forced by torture to name people at random, who being immediately taken up, were treated in the same manner, and obliged, in their turn, to name others, not more guilty than themselves.

THE frenzy was now become universal, the nearest ties of blood, and the most sacred friendships, were no more regarded. The gibbets every where exhibited to the people their relations and their neighbours hanging as malefactors. The cities were filled with terror and amazement, and the prisons so crowded, that executions were obliged to be made every day, in order to make room for more of the supposed criminals. Magistrates who refused to commit to jail, and juries which brought in a verdict

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of acquittance, were on that account suspected and accused. Accusations were also brought at last against the judges themselves, and the torrent had reached even to the palace of the governor, when, *a general pause ensued*. Conscious of his dangerous situation, every man trembled on looking around him, and every man resolved to cease from prosecuting his neighbour, as the only method of procuring his own safety. Shame and remorse arose from reflection. Reason resumed the reign, and the storm which had threatened a total depopulation of the country subsided at once into peace. In this paroxysm expired a spirit which for time immemorial had been a scourge to the human race, and particularly to that fair part of it whose history we are delineating.

Possession
by devils,
conjectures
on
its cause.

ANOTHER opinion nearly related to that which we have now been discussing, and scarcely, perhaps, less ancient, is the possession by devils. This through a long succession of ages had been considered as common to both sexes, and consequently not falling properly within our plan. But as the priests of the Romish church have adopted, and still maintain it now, when it is nearly exploded by

by every other set of men, and as they al-
most entirely confine it to women, we shall
give a short account of it.

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So delicate is the sensibility, or rather irritability, of the female constitution, that the sex are thereby subjected to several diseases, whose symptoms and appearances are more extraordinary than those with which the men are commonly afflicted. Such, it is highly probable, were those diseases which in the New Testament are called the possession by devils, and from persons thus affected, when they were healed by our Saviour, devils were said to be cast out.

EVERY one who has had an opportunity of seeing diseases of the spasmodic kind, must have been sensible that persons so affected, frequently exert a force which at other times they are totally incapable of. Hence, in ages of ignorance and superstition, it is no great wonder that such exertions, and such symptoms of torture as accompanied them, were attributed to the agency of evil spirits, who were said to have entered into, and tormented the unhappy sufferers. But medical philosophers, beginning to throw
aside

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afide every prejudice, and attach themselves only to truth, at last discovered, that symptoms which had formerly been supposed to arise from the agency of malevolent spirits, in reality arose from natural causes; and this doctrine, as being more consonant to reason, as well as confirmed by observation, was at last pretty generally received. But as every improvement of the human understanding is attended with inconveniency to those that fatten upon human ignorance, the priests of the Romish religion, arrogating to themselves the same powers as the author of christianity; had always pretended to cast out devils; and being aware that if there were no devils to cast out, their revenue and reputation would not only be diminished, but an instrument of managing the people and supporting their own power would also be wrested out of their hands, they strongly opposed this new doctrine as impious and discordant to the scripture. To carry on the farce with the greater probability, they carefully sought out such women as were endowed with a cunning superior to the rest of their sex, and bribed them to declare themselves possessed, that they might have the credit of dispossessing them, and thereby shewing

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shewing to the world, that it had been misled by a belief of natural causes, and that they actually derived from their great master, a power over the legions of darkness. To render this scheme the more complete, they laboured to instil a notion into mankind, that as evil spirits were no doubt so intelligent as to understand every language, those possessed by them were also endowed with the same gift. Women, therefore, who feigned this possession, were taught by the priests appointed to exorcise them, answers to such questions in several languages, as they should ask them. The multitude, when they thus observed women whom they knew to be without education, speaking a variety of languages, were convinced that it was really the devil who spoke out of them.

THOUGH the populace were deluded by this trick, yet the sensible part of mankind still silently depised the authors of such an imposition on human credulity; but as in Catholic countries nothing is more dangerous than contradicting or finding fault with the church, it was long before any one had the hardiness openly to attack this palpable absurdity; such an attack was, however, at last

Tricks of
the priests
concern-
ing posses-
sion dis-
covered
and expo-
sed.

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last successfully made by a physician in Sardinia. “ A young girl in Turin being “ troubled with hysteric fits, the Jesuits “ flocked about her, with a physician in their “ interest, who declared that she was pos- “ sessed. Exorcists were assembled, and the “ girl instructed how to carry on the farce. “ The affair made so much noise, that one “ of the court physicians, prompted by cu- “ riosity, went to see her, and publicly de- “ clared that her case was not supernatural. “ The Jesuits accused the Doctor of infi- “ delity, and offered to confute him from “ the testimony of his own senses. The “ Doctor accepted the challenge, and asked “ the girl in English (a language which “ neither of the Jesuits understood) what “ was his name; she answered in Piedmon- “ tese, that she did not understand the ques- “ tion. The Jesuits, extremely mortified, “ pretended he had put an unlawful question “ to her, and they had forbid the devil to “ answer any of that kind. The Doctor “ then asked the same question in Piedmon- “ tese, but as he was not known to the “ possessed she could not answer him. The “ Doctor ran in triumph to court with the “ news of his success. The king was highly “ pleased

“ pleased at it; and the prince, further to CHAP.
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“ try the knowledge of this Jesuitual devil, 
“ gave the Doctor a Chinese psalter, with a
“ commission to return back, and ask the girl
“ the contents, and in what language it was
“ written. The Jesuits threatened that they
“ would order the devil to expose all the
“ transactions of the Doctor’s life. The
“ Doctor laughed at the threatening, and
“ challenged the devil to begin his recital,
“ which if he did not, he would brand him
“ and all who favoured his possession, as
“ knaves and fools. The Jesuits enraged,
“ were going to turn the Doctor to the door,
“ when he shewed them the psalter and the
“ commission from the prince, ordering the
“ possessed to declare in what language it was
“ written. The Jesuits pretended the cha-
“ racters might be diabolical. The Doctor
“ replied, that so scandalous a suspicion was
“ violating the respect due to their prince.
“ The Jesuits said that a long series of prayer
“ and devotion was necessary to introduce an
“ affair of this nature. The Doctor replied,
“ he would assist them in both. No subter-
“ fuge being left, they began their ceremo-
“ nies, and having finished them, ordered
“ the possessed to answer all interrogatories.

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“ The psalter was then laid before her, she
 “ screamed, desired it might be taken away,
 “ and declared she could not bear the sight of
 “ it. At last, however, after being hard pre-
 “ sed, she said the characters were Hebrew;
 “ and that it contained a blasphemous writing
 “ against the Trinity. The Doctor, after
 “ telling them how ignorant their devil was,
 “ returned to court, and gave an account
 “ of what had happened. The two Jesuits
 “ were banished; the physician made a pub-
 “ lic recantation; the parents of the girl were
 “ forbid, on pain of being sent to the galleys,
 “ ever to mention the affair as a diabolical
 “ possession; the girl recovered her health;
 “ and thus ended an imposture, with so much
 “ discredit, that it put an end to all those
 “ ideas of forceries, witchcrafts, and satani-
 “ cal possessions, with which the minds of
 “ the people were infected.

As this triumph over priestcraft was only local; and as the multitude are still prone to believe what they do not understand; the clergy, in some places, still continue to propagate the doctrine of evil spirits entering into female bodies, and keeping possession of them till properly exorcised by the church;
 an

an opinion, long since, totally eradicated in Protestant countries, and only laughed at in secret by the sensible of the Romish faith.

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BEFORE we take our leave of this subject it may not be improper to observe, that the notions of witchcraft, and of possession, have not only been universal among mankind, but have had almost the same ideas every where annexed to them. In Hindostan, an old woman, who had taken upon her the name and character of a witch, raised a rebellion against her sovereign; and to draw the multitude to her standard, she circulated a report, which was eagerly credited, that on a certain day of the moon, she always cooked in the skull of an enemy, a mess, composed of owls, bats, snakes, lizards, human flesh, and other horrid ingredients, which she distributed to her followers; and which they believed had a power not only of rendering them void of fear, but also of making them invisible in the day of battle, and striking terror into their enemies. Would not one suppose she had read the histories of Greece and Rome, and the plays of Shakespear?

Ideas of
witchcraft
similar to
each other
in every
part of
the globe.

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Other dis-
advanta-
geous
ideas of
women.

BESIDES the opinions which have been already mentioned, it has been alleged against women, that they are incapable of attending to, or at least deaf to reason and conviction. This, however, we venture to affirm, is an error of partiality, or inattention; for the generality of women can reason in a cool and candid manner on any subject, where none of their interests or passions are concerned; but such appears to be the acuteness of the female feelings, that wherever passion is opposed to reason, it operates so strongly, that every reasoning power and faculty is, for a time, totally suspended. The same thing, in a lesser degree, happens to men; and the only difference between the sexes, in this particular, arises from the different degrees of feeling and sensibility.

WOMEN have likewise been charged by the men with inconstancy, and a love of change. However justly this may characterize them in their pursuit of the fashions and follies of the times, we are of opinion, that in their attachments to the men, it is false. The fair sex are, in general, formed for love; and seem impelled by nature, to fix that passion on some particular object;

as

as a lover, husband, or children; and for want of these, on some darling animal. So strong is this peculiarity of female nature, that many instances have been known, where nuns, for want of any other object, have attached themselves to a particular sister, with a passion little inferior to love; and history affords many instances of women, who, in spite of reason, reflection, and revenge, have been inviolably attached to the person of their first ravisher; though they hated, and had been ruined by his conduct,



AMONG all the signatures of the inferiority of women, few have been more insisted on, than the want of that courage and resolution so conspicuous in the men. We have already given it as our opinion, that this is no defect in their character; as the Author of nature has, for the most part, placed them in circumstances which do not demand these qualities; and when he has placed them otherwise, he has not withheld them. This is remarkably verified by the generality of women in savage life, where the countries are infested with wild beasts, and the men, for days and weeks together, abroad on their hunting excursions; in which intervals

Women
endowed
with cou-
rage in
circum-
stances
where it
is neces-
sary.

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intervals the sex, liable to be attacked by beasts of prey, and other enemies, would be in a miserable situation, were they the same weak and timid animals they are in polished society.

AMONG the Esquimaux, and several other savage people, the women go out to hunt and fish along with the men. In these excursions, it is necessary for them not only to have courage to attack whatever comes in their way, but to encounter the storms of a tempestuous climate, endure the hardships of famine, and every other evil, incident to a wandering life and an inhospitable country. In some places, where the woods afford but little game for the subsistence of the natives, and they are, consequently, obliged to procure that subsistence from the stormy seas which surround them, women hardly shew less courage, or less dexterity, in encountering the waves, than men. In Greenland, they will put off to sea in a vessel; and in a storm; which would make the most hardy European tremble. In many of the islands of the South Sea, they will plunge into the waves, and swim through a surf, which raises horror in the most dauntless sailor of our hemisphere.

hemisphere. In Himia, one of the Greek CHAP.
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islands, young girls, before they be permitted to marry, are obliged to fish up a certain quantity of pearls, and dive for them at a certain depth. Many of the other pearl fisheries are carried on by women, who, besides the danger of diving, are exposed to the attacks of the voracious shark, and other ravenous sea-animals, who frequently watch to devour them.

SHOULD it be objected here, that this kind of courage is only mechanical or customary, we would ask such objectors, Whether almost all courage is not of the same nature? Take the most undaunted mortal out of the path which he has constantly trod, and he will not shew the same resolution. A sailor, who unconcernedly steers his bark through the most tremendous waves, would be terrified at following a pack of hounds over hedge and ditch upon a spirited horse, which the well-accustomed jockey would mount with pleasure, and ride with ease. A soldier, who is daily accustomed to face death, when armed with all the horrors of gun-powder and steel, would shrink back with reluctance from the trade of gathering
eider


Courage
is acquired
like
mechanics.

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eider down, as practised by the simple peasants of Norway, who, for this purpose, let themselves down the most dreadful precipices by means of a rope. A thousand other instances might be adduced to prove this truth; but as many of them must have fallen under the observation of every one, we shall not enlarge upon them.

THAT savage women are more generally endowed with courage than those in civil life, appears evident from what we have now mentioned, as well as from the whole history of mankind; yet it does not from thence follow, that those in civil life are less conspicuous for it, when it is required by the circumstances in which they are placed. And though it is not our intention to give a minute history of every female, who, throwing aside the softness of her sex, has signified herself in scenes of devastation and fields of blood, we think it incumbent on us to give a few instances, to shew how far the sex have been enabled to exert courage when it became necessary.

In ancient and modern history, we are frequently presented with accounts of women

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 Instances
of female
courage
and con-
duct.

men, who, preferring death to slavery or prostitution, sacrificed their lives with the most undaunted courage to avoid them. Apollodorus tells us, that Hercules having taken the city of Troy, prior to the famous siege of it celebrated by Homer, carried away captive the daughters of Laomedon, then king. One of these, named Euthira, being left with several other Trojan captives on board the Grecian fleet, while the sailors went on shore to take in fresh provisions, had the resolution to propose, and the power to persuade her companions, to set the ships on fire, and to perish amidst the devouring flames. The women of Phœnicia met together before an engagement which was to decide the fate of their country, and having agreed to bury themselves in the flames, if their husbands and relations should be defeated; in the enthusiasm of their courage and resolution, they crowned her with flowers who first made the proposal. Many instances occur in the history of the Romans, of the Gauls, and of other nations in subsequent periods; where women being driven to despair by their enemies, bravely defended their walls, or waded through fields of blood to assist their countrymen;

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and free themselves from slavery or from ravishment. Carracalla having taken prisoners some German women, inhumanly offered them the sad alternative of being put to the sword, or sold for slaves. They unanimously made choice of the former. Disappointed in his view of gain, he ordered them to be led to the market; but his disappointment was doubled when he found that they all had the courage to prefer death to slavery. The history of Arabia affords several instances of the fortune of a battle having been restored by the women, after the men had fled. This was remarkably the case on the field of *Yermouk*, where the Greeks and Arabians decided the fate of Syria. The Grecians, much more numerous than the Arabians, began the onset with such irresistible impetuosity, that they drove their antagonists to their tents, there, the women stopped them, and alternately encouraging and reproaching them, threatened to join the Greeks; but finding the men disheartened, and even one of their bravest officers disposed for flight, a lady knocked him down with a tent pole, calling out to the rest "Advance, " and Paradise is before your face, fly, and " the fire of hell is at your backs;" then turning

turning towards the enemy, she, with the other women, led on the men to renew the combat, and obstinately maintained it till night obliged both armies to desist; the next day they renewed it again, and by their valour at last intirely routed and dispersed the Greeks, with the loss, it is said, of one hundred and fifty thousand killed, and half that number taken prisoners. Such heroic efforts are beauties even in the character of the softer sex, when they proceed from necessity; when from choice, they are blemishes of the most unnatural kind, indicating a heart of cruelty, lodged in a form which has the appearance of gentleness and peace. We therefore praise not the noble ladies of Genoa, who fired with an intemperate zeal for recovering the Holy Land, joined in the tumultuary crusades that went against it, and perhaps added to the crimes of these lawless devotees; who thought that because they were fighting for Jesus Christ on earth, they might break the eternal laws he had made in heaven.

WERE we to descend to particulars, we could give innumerable instances of women, who, from Semiramis to the present time,

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have distinguished themselves by their courage. Such was Penthesilia, who, if we may credit ancient story, led her army of viragoes to the assistance of Priam, king of Troy; Thomyris, who encountered Cyrus, king of Persia; and Thalestris, famous for her fighting, as well as for her amours with Alexander the Great. Such was Boadicea, queen of the Britons, who led on that people to revenge the wrongs done to herself and her country by the Romans. And in later periods, such was the Maid of Orleans, and Margaret of Anjou; which last, according to several historians, commanded at no less than *twelve* pitched battles. But we do not chuse to multiply instances of this nature, as we have already said enough to shew, that the sex are not destitute of courage when it becomes necessary; and were they possessed of it, when unnecessary, it would divest them of one of the principal qualities for which we love, and for which we value them.---No woman was ever held up as a pattern to her sex, because she was intrepid and brave; no woman ever conciliated the affections of the men, by rivalling them in what they reckon the peculiar excellencies of their own character,

ALTHOUGH

ALTHOUGH from what we have related it appears, that an opinion has been pretty generally diffused among mankind, that the female sex are in body and in mind, greatly inferior to the male; yet that opinion has not been so universal as to exclude every exception; for whole nations in some periods, and some individuals in every period, have held a contrary one. We have already given some account of the veneration in which the ancient Egyptians held their women; a veneration which seems at least to have continued to the days of Cleopatra. We have seen other nations placing the fountain of honour in the sex, and others again valuing every single woman at the rate of six men. We have seen the Germans admitting them to be present at, and to direct their councils. The Greeks, Romans, and ancient Britons, consecrating them to the sacred function of ministring at the altars of their gods. We have seen the institution of chivalry raising them almost above the level of mortality. But in Italy, even in a period when chivalry had nearly expired, we find them risen in the opinion of the men, to a height at which they never arrived before. In Rome, when it became so venal, that

every

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Women
in some
countries
reckoned
superior
to men.

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every thing could be purchased for money, it was no uncommon thing for the wives or mistresses of the rich and opulent to be deified after death. In modern Italy, this ridiculous dignity was conferred upon Joan of Arragon, while living, by the accademy of the Dubbiofi, in the year one thousand five hundred and fifty-one. Upon her sister, the Marchioness de Gaust, they likewise conferred the title of a divinity; and proposed building a temple, in which they should both be worshipped together. But some of the accademicians observing, that two deities, especially of the feminine gender, would probably not agree together in the same temple; it was at last resolved, that the Marchioness should be worshipped by herself, and that to her sister, Joan of Arragon, should be erected a temple, of which she should have the sole possession.

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CHAP. XX.

*Of Dress, Ornament, and some other Methods
whereby Women endeavour to render them-
selves agreeable to the Men.*

THE mutual inclination of the sexes to each other, is the source of many of the useful arts, and perhaps of all the elegant refinements; by constantly exerting itself in strenuous endeavours to please; to be agreeable, and to be necessary, it gives an additional flavour to the rational pleasures, and multiplies even the conveniences of life.

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In the articles of convenience and necessity, we have greatly the advantage over the women, who, naturally rely on us for whatever is useful and whatever is necessary. In the articles of pleasure and of refinement, they have as much the advantage of us, and we as naturally look up to them as the source of our pleasures, as they do to us as the source of their sustenance and their fortunes. Besides the advantages of being so necessary

Obligati-
ons of the
sexes to
each
other.

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necessary to the women on account of procuring them convenience and subsistence; men have a thousand ways of ingratiating themselves into the favour of the sex, and may practise them all with openness and freedom; whereas, women must endeavour to work themselves into our affections by methods silent and disguised; for, should the mask be thrown off, their intentions would not only be frustrated, but the very attempt would fix upon them the character of forwardness, and want of that modesty which custom has made so essential a part of female excellence. Nothing appears more evident, than that we all wish women to be agreeable, and to insinuate themselves into our favour, but then we wish them to do so by nature, and not by art; or at least that the little art they employ, should look as like nature as possible.

COMPELLED to act under these disadvantages, the sex are obliged to lay a perpetual restraint on their behaviour, and often to disclaim by their words, and even by their actions, such honest and virtuous attachments as they approve in their hearts. When they, however, direct their attacks upon no parti-



particular individual, when they only strive to cultivate their minds and adorn their bodies, that they may become the more worthy of being honourably attacked by us, we not only pardon, but love them for those arts, which, by embellishing nature, render her still more agreeable.

NATURE has given to men strength, and to women beauty; our strength endears us to them, not only by affording them protection, but by its laborious efforts for their maintenance; their beauty endears them to us, not only by the delight it offers to our senses, but also by that power it has of softening and composing our more rugged passions. Every animal is conscious of its own strength, and of the proper mode of employing it; women, abundantly conscious that theirs lies in their beauty, endeavour with the utmost care to heighten and improve it. To give some account of the many and various methods which have been and still are made use of for this purpose, is the subject upon which we would wish at present to turn the attention of our fair readers.

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XX.

Origin
and use of
clothing.

NEXT to the procuring of daily food for the sustenance of our bodies, that of clothing them seems the most essentially necessary, and there are few inventions in which more ingenuity has been displayed, or more honour done to the human understanding. The art of clothing ourselves with decent propriety, is one of those improvements which strongly distinguish us from the brutes; that of clothing ourselves with elegance, is one of those which perpetually whet the invention, and distinguish the man of taste from the mere imitator.

Cloaths
not in-
vented
merely to
defend
from cold.

THOUGH cloaths may appear essentially necessary to us who inhabit the northern extremities of the globe, yet as they could not be so in the warmer climates where they were first invented, some other cause than merely that of securing the body from the injuries of the air must have given birth to them. There are in Asia, which we suppose to have been first inhabited, a variety of places where cloaths would not only have been altogether useless, but also burdensome; yet over all this extensive country, and in every other part of the world, except among a few of the most savage nations, all
mankind

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mankind have been, and still are, accustomed to use some kind of covering for their bodies. Had cloaths been originally intended only for defending the body against cold, it would naturally follow, that they must have been invented and brought to the greatest perfection in the coldest regions, and that the inhabitants of every cold country, impelled by necessity, must at least have discovered the use of them long before the present time; but neither of these is the case, for the art of making garments was invented before any of the colder countries were inhabited, and the inhabitants of some of the most inhospitable regions of the globe, particularly about the streights of Magellan, are at this day naked.

FROM these instances it seems plain, that necessity was not the sole cause which first induced men to cover their bodies; some other reason at least must have co-operated with it, to make the custom so universal. Shame has been alleged as this other reason, and by some said to have been the only cause of the original invention of clothing; but this opinion is not supported by facts, for shame does not seem natural to mankind;

Shame
supposed
to have
given
birth to
clothing,
but erroneously.

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it is the child of art, and the nearer we approach to nature, the less we are acquainted with it. It would be endless to enumerate the various countries in which both sexes are entirely naked, and consequently insensible of any shame on that account; or which is still a stronger proof of our assertion, to enumerate those, in which, though cloaths are commonly made use of, yet no shame is annexed to uncovering any part of the body. But that we may not build our hypothesis entirely upon the customs of savage life, let us consider the state of infancy in the most polished society; a state, in which nothing is more obvious, than that neither of the sexes have any shame on account of being naked when several years old, and that even at the age of seven or eight, exposing every part of the body, is a circumstance to which they pay so little regard, that mothers, and other people who have the care of them, often find great difficulty in teaching them to conform in this particular to the customs of their country, and are frequently obliged even to make use of correction before they can obtain their purpose. To this teaching, and to this correction, we owe the first sensations of shame, on exposing ourselves

ourselves otherwise than the mode of our country prescribes, and custom keeps up these sensations ever after; for shame is not excited by deviating from custom, only in things which have a real turpitude in their nature, but also by deviating from it in those things that are innocent or indifferent.

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If from the foregoing reasons it should appear, that the origin of clothing was neither altogether owing to necessity, nor to shame, then the cause of this origin still remains to be discovered. Might we hazard a conjecture here we would suppose it to have been a kind of innate principle, especially in the fair sex, prompting them to improve by art those charms bestowed on them by nature. The reasons which induce us to be of this opinion are, because, as we observed above, cloaths were invented in a climate where they were but little wanted to defend from the cold, and in a period when the human race were too innocent, as well as too rude and uncultivated, to have acquired the sense of shame. Because, also, in looking over the history of mankind, it appears, that an appetite for ornament, if we may so call it, is universally diffused among them, wherever

Origin of
cloaths
owing to
the love
of finery.

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wherever they have the least leisure from the indispensable duty of procuring daily food, or are not depressed with the most absolute slavery; all savage nations, even though totally naked, shew their love of ornament by marks, stains, and paintings of various kinds, upon their bodies, and these frequently of the most shining and gaudy colours. Every people, whose country affords any materials, and who have acquired any art in fabricating them, shew all the ingenuity they can in decking and adorning themselves to the best advantage, with what they have thus fabricated. These circumstances strongly demonstrate, that the love of ornament is a natural principle, which shews itself in every country, almost without one single exception. But further, were cloaths intended only to defend from the cold, or to cover shame, the most plain and simple would serve these purposes; at least as well, if not better than the most gay and ornamental; but the plain and the simple, every where give way to the gay and the ornamental. Ornament, therefore, must have been one of the causes which gave birth to the origin of clothing.

As

As there is in human nature a strong propensity to the love of variety, this might likewise contribute to the use of clothing; absolute nakedness having nothing to present but the same object, in the same shape and colour, and without any other variation of circumstances than what arise from change of attitude, is not likely to excite, and still less likely to continue the passion of love. In countries therefore, where women are constantly in the original state of nature, they are much less objects of desire, than where they are enabled by dress to vary their figure and their shape, constantly to strike us with some new appearance, and to shew, or conceal from us, a part of their charms, as it shall best answer their purpose. It is probable that the sex became early acquainted with all the disadvantages of appearing perpetually the same; and that to remedy them, they contrived, by degrees, to alter themselves by the assistance of dress and ornament.

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They might be owing also to a love of variety.

BECAUSE savage life is the state that approaches nearest to nature; and because, in this state, women sometimes neglect every kind of dress and ornament, it has therefore been

Ornament supposed by some not a natural passion of the sex.

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been concluded, that to dress, and to ornament themselves, is a passion not natural to the sex. But this conclusion will be found to be improperly drawn, when we consider, that wherever women totally neglect ornament and dress, it is either where they have no materials for these purposes, as in the Streights of Magellan; or where they are so depressed with slavery and ill-usage, as on the banks of the Oroonoka, that a passion so natural, is totally destroyed by the severity of their fate; for even in the most savage states of mankind, if the women are not depressed with abject slavery, they make every effort, and strain every nerve to get materials of finery and of dress. On the coast of Patagonia, where the natives of both sexes are almost entirely naked, the women, in point of ornament, were much on an equality with the men, and painted nearly in the same manner; and one of them, even finer than any of her male or female companions, had not only bracelets on her arms, but strings of beads also interwoven with her hair. Among many of the tribes of wandering Tartars, who are almost as rude and uncultivated as imagination can paint them, the women, though in a great measure



measure confined, are loaded with a profusion of the richest ornaments their husbands or relations can procure for them. But it would be needless to adduce any more proofs in support of our opinion; the whole history of mankind, ancient and modern, is so full of them, that, unless we draw general conclusions from particular instances, we cannot entertain a doubt, that the love of finery is more natural to the other sex than to ours.


TAKING it then for granted, that the love of dress is a natural appetite, we may reasonably conclude, that it began to shew itself in the first ages of the world; but in what manner it was first exerted, and what materials originally offered themselves for its gratification, are subjects of which we know but little. The first garment mentioned by history, was composed of leaves sewed together, but with what they were sewed, we have no account. Strabo tells us, that some nations clothed themselves with the bark of trees, others with herbs or reeds, rudely woven together. Of all other materials, the skins of animals seem to have been the most universally used in the ages we are considering; but being

Simplicity
of primitive
clothing.

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then ignorant of the method of making these skins flexible by the art of tanning, or of separating the hair from them, they wore them in the same state in which they came from the bodies of the animals. Finding them, however, cumbersome and inconvenient in this condition, they endeavoured to discover some method of rendering them more pliable, and better adapted to their purposes; the discovery was made, but when, or where, is uncertain. Herodotus tells us, that the ancient Lybian women wore mantles of goat skins tanned and dyed red, a considerable piece of finery in those times; and the ancient annals of China inform us, that Tchinfang, one of their first kings, taught them to prepare the skins of animals for garments, by taking off the hair with a wooden roller; but even after the skins of animals were, by the various methods practised in different countries, rendered something more convenient, they were not naturally adapted to form a neat and commodious covering for the human body; many of them were too little, others too large; those that were too large, it was an easy matter to make less at pleasure; but those that were too little, could not be enlarged without

without the art of sewing them together; CHAP.
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 an art, which many nations were long in discovering. Thread does not appear to have been among the most early inventions, as we may suppose from finding several savages at this day ignorant of it; and without thread, they could do nothing. Hesiod informs us, That, instead of thread, the ancients used the sinews of animals dried, and split into small fibres. Thorns, sharp bones, and the like, supplied the place of needles, and of those rude materials; and in this rude manner were the cloaths, or rather coverings, of the first ages made; but we must observe, that they were not fitted to the body as at present; but all loose, and nearly of an equal size; a circumstance strongly proved by the many changes of raiment in the possession of the great, in which they used to clothe the guests who came to visit them; purposes which they never could have answered, had they been all exactly fitted to the body of the original owner; but this circumstance is also further proved from the clothing of those nations which retain still the strongest traces of antiquity. The garments of the Welch, and Scotch Highlanders,

CHAP. are, at this day, so wide and loose, that they
 XX.  may easily be applied to the use of any
 wearer,

Improve-
 ments in
 the art of
 clothing.

As society began to improve, and the
 sexes became more ambitious of rendering
 themselves agreeable to each other, they
 endeavoured to discover such materials as
 could be made into garments of a more
 commodious nature than the leaves and bark
 of trees, or the skins of animals; and their
 first efforts were probably made upon camel's
 hair; a material which they still work up
 into clothing in the East. From camel's
 hair, the transition to wool was easy and
 natural; and it would soon be found, that
 either of them formed a covering, not only
 more pliable, warm, and substantial; but
 also more elegant, than any thing that had
 been before made use of. At what period
 they first invented the art of converting these
 materials into garments is uncertain: all we
 know is, that it was very early; for, in the
 patriarchal ages, we are told of the great
 care taken by the inhabitants of Palestine
 and Mesopotamia, in sheering their sheep;
 the wool of which they, no doubt, had the
 art,

art of making into covering and to orna-
 ment. The uses which were now made of
 wool and of camel's hair, might possibly
 suggest the first idea of separating into dis-
 tinct threads the fibres of plants, so as to
 convert them into the same uses: but what-
 ever started that idea, it obtained an early
 footing among mankind. In the plagues
 which were sent to distress Egypt, on ac-
 count of the Israelites, we read of the de-
 struction of the flax; and in periods a little
 posterior, we have frequent mention made
 of the fine linen of Egypt. Such were the
 materials in which men clothed themselves
 in the first ages. We shall now take a short
 view of what they had for ornament and
 show.

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In the days of Abraham, the art of orna-
 menting the body with various materials
 was far from being unknown; they had then
 jewels of several kinds, as well as vessels of
 gold and silver. Eliezar, Abraham's servant,
 when he went to court Rebecca, for Isaac
 his master's son, carried along with him
 jewels of gold, and of silver, and bracelets,
 and rings, as presents to procure him a
 favourable reception. We find the same
 Rebecca

Ornament
of the
first ages
what.

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Rebecca afterwards in possession of perfumed garments, which she put on her son Jacob, to enable him to cheat his father, by passing himself upon him for his brother Esau. When they had arrived at the luxury of perfuming their apparel, we may conclude, that the modes of dressing were not so plain and simple as some would endeavour to persuade us. Jacob gave his beloved son Joseph a coat of divers colours, supposed to be made of cotton, and finer than those of his brethren; which stirred up their envy, and was the cause of their selling him for a slave into Egypt. But notwithstanding all this finery, the people of the primitive ages were not acquainted with the art of dressing gracefully; their upper garment was only a piece of cloth, in which they wrapped themselves; nor had they any other contrivance to keep it firm about them, than by holding it round their bodies. Many uncultivated nations at this day exhibit the same rude appearance. We have a striking instance of this in Otaheite, where the people wrap themselves in pieces of cloth of a length almost incredible; and the higher the rank of the wearer, so much the greater is the length of his cloth. In the patri-

patriarchal ages, the Israelites had advanced a few steps beyond the simplicity we have now described; they had garments made with sleeves, and cloaks which they threw over all; but their shoes were like those of the neighbouring nations, only composed of pieces of leather, to defend the soles of their feet, and fastened on with thongs. So partially covered they never could travel on foot, nor hardly stir abroad, without having their feet much defiled; it was therefore always necessary to wash them when they got home, a ceremony often mentioned in the scripture, which the servant generally performed to his master, and the master often to his visitors and guests.

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AMIDST all these anecdotes of the dress of the first ages, it is not a little surprising, that we have no account of what was worn by the women, except the few ornaments given to Rebecca, which we have already mentioned. But though we cannot now conjecture what was their dress, we are assured, that it differed on account of different circumstances. For Tamar, before she went to sit by the way-side, to impose herself upon Judah for an harlot, was habited in the

Dress of
women
in the first
ages, not
described.

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the garments peculiar to a widow, which she put off, and dressed herself in such as were peculiar to an harlot. Whence it appears, that not only *widows* and *harlots*, but perhaps several other conditions, were distinguished from one another by particular dresses; a strong proof that dress was in these periods a circumstance of no small importance, and greatly attended to; for, where dress is only in its infancy, it is not made use of as a badge to distinguish one person from another; but in polished nations, it is not only made use of to distinguish rank, but even professions and circumstances are marked out by it.

SOME of the neighbouring nations, and particularly the Midianites, had, in the primitive ages, carried their attention to dress still farther than the Israelites; for we read in the book of Judges, of their gold chains, bracelets, rings, tablets, purple ornaments of their kings, and even gold chains or collars for the necks of their camels. Though the dress of the common people of Egypt seems to have been simple, yet the great made use of a variety of decorations. They had changes of raiment. Joseph gave
changes

changes of raiment to each of his brethren. They wore garments made of cotton, and costly chains about their necks. As to the dress of the women, all we know of it is, that they had only one kind, whereas the men had more; whether by one kind of dress only, is meant, that all their variety of changes were made in one fashion, or of the same sort of materials, is uncertain; but however this be, they had, besides their cloaths, a variety of ornaments; for Moses tells us, that when the Israelites finally departed from Egypt, they were ordered to borrow jewels of gold and jewels of silver, to put them on their sons and daughters, and to spoil the Egyptians. Nor need we wonder, that they were possessed of these things at the period when the Israelites went out from them, for even in the days of Joseph, luxury and magnificence were carried to a great height; they had, besides their jewels, vessels of gold and silver, rich stuffs, and perfumes; were waited upon by a number of slaves, and drawn in chariots, of which they had several sorts. They had embroideries of various kinds, which were also used among the neighbouring nations; for Moses mentions works of embroidery, with an

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agreeable variety; and Pliny tells us, that they painted linen by laying certain drugs upon it. From all these anecdotes, as well as from the immense sums which we have already taken notice of being allotted to the toilette of the queens of Egypt, we may conclude that the dress of their women was at least costly; if not elegant. We shall finish what we had to say on this subject by observing, that what most particularly distinguished this people, was their attention to cleanliness; they not only kept their garments exceedingly neat, but the opulent had them washed every time they put them on; this appears the more remarkable, as cleanliness seems to have been no general virtue of the ancients. The Scythians never washed themselves, lest it should spoil the beauty of their skin, but they used a succedaneum; they pounded Cypress and Cedar with incense, infused the powder in water, made it into a paste, and spread it over their faces; when it came off, it is said not only to have smoothed and beautified, but even to have perfumed the part upon which it was laid.

THAT

THAT beauty was in all ages the subject of praise and of flattery; we may infer from the nature of man, as well as learn from the songs of the ancient bards. When women were praised, when they were flattered on this subject, it was natural for them to wish to see those charms of which they had heard so much; but ingenuity could not discover the method of doing this, it was more probably chance which found it out. Some person, looking on the clear surface of a smooth pool, saw his own image in the water; this furnished the first hint that every polished surface would have the same effect; hence mirrors were made in a very early period in Egypt; and from the Egyptians probably, the Israelites first borrowed that art; for mirrors were common among them in their passage through the wilderness, as appears from Moses having made his laver of brass, of the mirrors offered by the women who attended at the door of the tabernacle. The art of making mirrors of glass was not known in these days. The first and best are said to have been made long after, of a sand found on the coasts of the Tyrian sea;

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XX.Mirrors
early
made use
of.

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those then in use were made of highly polished metal. In Egypt, and in Palestine, they were of brass. When the ancient Peruvians were first discovered, their mirrors were of brass: and, at this day, in the East, they are commonly made of that, or some other metal, capable of receiving a fine polish.

THE use of mirrors, among the Egyptians and Israelites, is a proof that the ages under review were not so rude and simple as some would insinuate. Many nations at this period have not arrived to the knowledge of mirrors. The people of New Zealand were surpris'd at this mode of viewing their own faces, and behaved on the occasion with a mixture of the most ridiculous grimace and merriment. Almost every writer of voyages into savage countries, presents us with histories of a similar nature. How rapid is the progress of human genius in some countries! How slow in others! Whence arises this diversity? Is it from climate, from necessity, or from a difference in the original powers and faculties of the mind? Is it possible that savages

savages never have seen themselves in the water? If they have, why should they be surprised at seeing themselves in a looking-glass? CHAP.
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*The same Subject continued.*CHAP.
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IN periods so remote as these we are now considering, it is impossible for us to give any distinct detail of the various dresses made use of; we have neither descriptions nor monuments left to elucidate so dark a subject; nor, if we had, is it our intention to give a minute and circumstantial account of every article used at the female toilette: we only mean to point out that dress has been an object of general attention, and in what manner this attention has exerted itself; and we shall leave our readers to consider, how far the care bestowed on it may elucidate the manners of the times, and how these manners might influence the modes of altering and forming it.

Folly of
declaim-
ers
against or-
naments
and fine-
ry.

AMONG other subjects of popular declamation, the present luxury of dress affords a constant opportunity of endeavouring to persuade us, that our own times far surpass in this article every thing that has gone before

fore us; and that our own country surpasses CHAP.
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all the world. But this is no more than mere 
declamation; for if we look back even to
very remote periods of antiquity, we shall
find that the same thing was then the subject
of declamation as well as at present. The
third chapter of Isaiah presents us with an
account of the finery of the daughters of
Babylon; which no modern extravagance
has hitherto equalled. Homer dresses several
of his heroes and heroines with a magnifi-
cence to which we are strangers; and Cleo-
patra exhibited an extravagance in her
dress and entertainments, which in our
times would beggar the most wealthy po-
tentate on the globe. We might easily mul-
tiply instances to shew the splendour and
magnificence of the ancients; but those
already given, are sufficient to teach us how
little reason there is for declaimers to vilify
the present times; nor have they more
reason to exclaim against this country;
whoever has seen the splendour of the
East, must laugh at every satire on that
of Europe. When the emperors of the
Moguls appeared in public, the wealth and
magnificence exhibited, were sufficient to
beggar all description; even the Khalifs,
successors

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successors to Mahomet, in their public entertainments and ceremonies, were splendid and costly beyond our conception. The marriage of Almamoun with the daughter of Hassan Sahal, was celebrated with a magnificence hardly to be credited by an European. Slaves of both sexes were made presents of by the bride's father, to every grandee who was subject to Almamoun. While the preliminaries of the nuptials were settling at Fomal Saleh, the two courts were every day entertained with all the luxurious and voluptuous spectacles of the East. When the bargain was concluded, and the bride and bridegroom departed, they found the road from thence to Baghdad, *almost an hundred miles*, covered with matts of gold and silver stuff; on the head-dress of the bride, a thousand pearls are said to have been arranged, every one of them of an immense value. We could fill up many pages with a recital of eastern magnificence, but this single example will sufficiently shew us how much it exceeds our own.

THOUGH a variety of precious stones were made use of by the ancients, it is probable they were unacquainted with the diamond,

diamond, upon which modern refinement has stamped such an immense value. Some have imagined, that Homer and Hesiod have mentioned this stone by the name of *Adamas* and *Adamantinos*; but it has been more judiciously supposed, that these Greek terms have not the least relation to it. Pliny, who has taken much pains to investigate the discovery of precious stones, can find no mention of this till a period near the beginning of the Christian æra. But long after the discovery of diamonds, they did not, for want of being properly polished, display half their lustre; the art of giving them this lustre by polishing them with their own dust, is but a late invention, and ascribed to Lewis de Berquen, a native of Bruges, who lived only between three and four hundred years ago.

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Ancients  
not ac-  
quainted  
with the  
diamond.

A DESIRE of attracting the public attention, first prompted the human race to ornament themselves with the most shining and brilliant things which nature could supply. Among these, the diamond, after it was discovered, held the chief rank; it was, therefore, natural, that the mines which produce it should be sought after with avidity,

Diamonds  
where  
found.

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dity, and preserved with care. It would perhaps be considered as foreign to our purpose, to give an account of every particular spot where diamonds are found; suffice it therefore to say, that the greater part of them are dug up in the dominions of Spain and Portugal. In the Brazils the Portuguese have a company which has an exclusive right to the diamond mines, and the laws enacted by that company for their security, are subversive of justice, policy, and mercy. Not contented with inflicting instant death upon every stranger found within a certain distance of the mines, they have also depopulated and turned into an unaccessible waste, a district of country to the extent of three hundred miles around them. Such are the crimes by which mankind become possessed of this most important bagatelle, which now distinguishes grandeur and opulence from the lower and more humble ranks of life.

Love of  
ornament  
early dis-  
played.

INDIVIDUALS of the human species, like those of all others, grow old, and suffer by decay; but the species itself, always the same, is constantly distinguished by the same propensities, and actuated by the same passions.

It

It treads in the same path that it did five hundred years ago. Dignity and power were then, as well as now, in many places conferred by opulence, and distinguished by ornament and dress; and beauty was fond of adding to nature, by all the decorations and embellishments of art. Aaron was distinguished by a profusion of ornaments; the greatest part of the heroes of Homer were distinguished by the richness and brilliancy of their armour; and the kings of the ancient Medes and Persians, and of many of the neighbouring nations, had golden scepters, as ensigns of their power and authority.

BUT to return from the subject of badges of distinction, to the dress and ornament of common life. In ancient Babylon, the men wore stuffs wrought with gold and silver, ornamented with costly embroidery, and enriched with rubies, emeralds, sapphires, pearls, and other jewels, of which the East has always been remarkably productive. Collars of gold were also a part of their finery. Such was the dress of their men; that of their women has not been so particularly described, but when we consider the rank which women held among them, and the natural

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propensity of the sex to dress and ornament, we have reason to believe it was still more costly and magnificent, especially as we so frequently find the prophets reproving the daughters of Babylon for their pride, and the vanity which they displayed in the variety and splendour of their attire. To the costliness of the materials of their garments, the Babylonish women frequently added the expence of the most precious perfumes, which they lavished with the greatest profusion on their dress and on their persons; and as it is well known that the perfumes of Babylon were every where famous for their superior excellence, and bore an exceeding high price, this luxurious article must have added greatly to the expence of the female toilette,

DRESS and ornament did not less excite the attention of the Medes and Persians than of the Babylonians; the women of their kings were habited in all the pomp of eastern magnificence, and the revenues of whole provinces were frequently employed in decorating her who happened to be the greatest favourite. The queens had certain districts set apart for maintaining their toilette and ward-

wardrobe, one for the veil, another for the girdle, &c. and these districts took their names from the different parts of the dress to which they were appropriated, as the queen's girdle, the queen's mantle, &c. The Medes appear to have paid the greatest attention to dress, for the luxury and magnificence of which, they are frequently exclaimed against by the writers of antiquity. They wore long flowing robes with large hanging sleeves, interwoven with a variety of different colours, of the most gaudy and shining nature, richly embroidered with gold and silver. They were likewise loaded with bracelets, gold chains, and necklaces adorned with precious stones, and wore upon the head a kind of *tiara* or high pointed cap, exceedingly magnificent; nay, so far had they carried their attention to every species of decoration, that they even tinged their eyes and eye-brows, painted their faces, and mingled artificial with their natural hair. Such, in the articles of dress and ornament, was the care and attention of their men; antiquity has left us in the dark concerning that of their women, and has only informed us in general, that they were exceedingly beautiful. We may, there-

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CHAP. therefore, reasonably suppose, that they en-  
 XXI. deavoured to improve by art, that beauty  
 bestowed on them by nature.

Ancients  
 magnifi-  
 cently  
 dressed on  
 public oc-  
 casions.

NOTWITHSTANDING what we have now mentioned, in looking over the history of antiquity, we are apt at first view to imagine, that the ancient heroes despised dress, as an effeminacy in which it was below their notice to indulge themselves. Hercules had only a lion's skin flung over his shoulders, and a variety of the heroes mentioned by Homer and the other ancient writers, were wrapped in those of the different animals they had destroyed. But this seems only to have been the mode in which they clothed themselves in ordinary life, or perhaps rather for convenience when they went a hunting, or to make them appear more terrible when they went to war; for on public occasions, when ceremony was necessary, they had other garments of a very different nature. The mantle of Ulysses is described by Homer as an extraordinary piece of finery, and several of the rest of his warriors are now and then introduced in the utmost magnificence of dress that gods and men could fabricate for them. Even in the heroic ages, the Greeks wore cloaths adorned



adorned with gold and silver, and ladies of distinction had long flowing robes fastened with clasps of gold, and bracelets of the same metal adorned with amber; nor were they then unconscious that nature might be improved by art, for they endeavoured to give a bloom to their complexions by several sorts of paint, in composing and laying on which, they were scarcely less dextrous than the ladies of the first rank and fashion at Versailles. But with all these loads of finery, the ancients were strangers to elegance, and even to convenience. In the times we are speaking of, the Greeks had no shoes, but only a kind of sandals, which they put on when they went out; neither did they know the use of breeches, stockings, nor drawers, nor pins, nor buckles, nor buttons, nor pockets. They had not invented the art of lining cloaths, and when cold, were obliged to supply that defect, by throwing one garment over another.

As the Greeks emerged from the barbarity of the heroic ages, among other articles of culture, they began to bestow more attention on the convenience and elegance of dress. At Athens, the ladies commonly employed

Dress of  
the ancient  
Greek  
women.

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employed the whole morning in decorating themselves ; their toilette consisted in paints and washes, of such a nature as to clean and beautify the skin, and they took great care to clean their teeth, an article at present too much neglected. Some also blackened their eye-brows, and, if necessary, supplied the deficiency of the vermillion on their lips, by a paint said to have been exceedingly beautiful. At this day the women in the Greek islands make much use of a paint which they call *Sulama*, which imparts a beautiful redness to the cheeks, and gives the skin a remarkable gloss. Possibly this may be the same with that made use of in the times we are considering. Some of the Greek ladies at present gild their faces all over on the day of their marriage, and consider this coating as an irresistible charm. In the island of Scios, their dress does not a little resemble that of ancient Sparta, for they go with their bosoms uncovered, and with gowns which only reach to the calf of their leg, in order to shew their fine garters, which are commonly red ribbons curiously embroidered. But to return to ancient Greece, the ladies spent likewise a part of their time in composing head-dresses, and  
though

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though we have reason to suppose that they were not then so preposterously fantastic as those presently fabricated by a Parisian milliner, yet they were probably objects of no small industry and attention, especially as we find that they then dyed their hair, perfumed it with the most costly essences, and by the means of hot irons disposed of it in curls; as fancy or fashion directed. Their cloaths were made of stuffs so extremely light and fine, as to shew their shapes, without offending against the rules of decency. At Sparta, the case was widely different; we shall not describe the dress of the women, it is sufficient to say, that it has been loudly complained of by almost every ancient author who has treated on the subject. Euripedes says, it was not in the power of the Spartan ladies to be modest; their dress, through which their limbs were visible, and their wrestling naked with the young men, were temptations to debauchery which human nature could not possibly resist.

FROM what has now been related it appears, that the women of antiquity were not less solicitous about their persons than the moderns, and that the materials for decorating

Dress of  
the Ro-  
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them

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them, were neither so few, nor so simple, as has been by some imagined. These facts, in the review of the Romans, will appear still more conspicuous. In the more early periods of that great republic, the people in their persons as well as in their manners, were simple and unadorned; we shall, therefore, pass over the attire of these times, and confine our observations to that which appeared when the wealth of the whole world centred within the walls of Rome.

THE Roman ladies went to bathe in the morning, and from thence returned to the toilette, where women of rank and fortune had a number of slaves to attend on and do every thing for them, while themselves, looking constantly in their glasses, practised various attitudes, studied the airs of negligence, the smiles that best became them, and directed the placing of every lock of hair, and every part of the head-dress. Coquettes, ladies of morose temper, and those whose charms had not attracted so much notice as they expected, often blamed the slaves who dressed them for this want of success; and if we may believe Juvenal, sometimes chastised them for it with the most

most unfeeling severity. At first, the maids C H A P.  
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~ who attended the toilette were to assist in adjusting every part of the dress, but afterward each had her proper task assigned her; one had the combing, curling, and dressing of the hair; another managed the perfumes; a third the jewels; a fourth laid on the paint and cosmetics; all these, and several others, had names expressive of their different employments. But besides those, whose business it was to put their hands to the labour of the toilette, there were others, who, acting in a station more exalted, only attended to give their opinion and advice, to declare what colours most suited the complexion, and what method of dressing gave the greatest additional lustre to the charms of nature.

As the loves and the graces more particularly reside in the face, the Roman ladies were not only attentive to the face itself, but to every decoration that surrounded it. They had combs of box and of ivory for the hair, the curls of which they fastened with gold and silver pins; besides these, they commonly stuck into their hair, pins set with pearl, and plaited it with chains and rings of gold, or with purple or white ribbons,

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shining with jewels and precious stones, They had also in their ears, rings of gold, loaded with pearl, or other jewels\*. The modern gigantic head-dress of the present time, with all its combs, and wool, and curls, is not the invention of this age; it is at least as old as the times we are delineating: the Roman ladies, by the assistance of borrowed hair or wool, decorated their heads with tresses, knots, and curls, all so variously disposed, and in so many different stories one above another, that the whole looked like a regular piece of architecture. Nor was it always necessary that a lady should spend *her precious* time in sitting to have her upper apartments built upon in this manner; the Romans, as well as the moderns, knew how to mingle convenience with folly, they could purchase in the shops, as at present, a head-dress ready built, which they had only the trouble to clap on. It would be tedious to mention the various

\* So extravagant was the love of finery and ornament among the Roman ladies, that to curb and restrain it, was frequently the serious occupation of the venerable senate; which at one time loudly complained, that, in the purchase of female trinkets and ornaments, a great part of the wealth of the state was irrecoverably given away, to nations who were enemies to Rome.



forms in which these voluminous head-dresses were constructed; suffice it to say, that there were some modes of dressing the head, which were considered as distinguishing marks of modesty and virtue, while others were as strong indications of lewdness and debauchery.

BUT disposing of the hair in various forms and figures; interweaving it with ribbons, jewels, and gold; were not the only methods they made use of to decorate it. As light-coloured hair had the preference of all others, both men and women therefore dyed their hair of this colour, perfumed it with sweet-scented essences, and powdered it with *gold dust*; a custom of the highest extravagance, which the Romans brought from Asia, and which, according to Josephus, was practised among the Jews. White hair powder was not then invented, nor did the use of it come into fashion till towards the end of the sixteenth century. The first writer who mentions it is L'Etoile, who relates, that in the year one thousand five hundred and ninety-three, the Nuns walked the streets of Paris curled and powdered; from that time the custom of powdering has become so common,

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common, that in most places of Europe, but especially in France, it is used by both sexes, and by people of all ages, ranks, and conditions.

Of the  
Roman  
cosmetics  
and  
paints.

SUCH were the ornaments with which the Roman ladies surrounded the face; those of the face itself consisted of cosmetics, paints, and even pastes; of the cosmetics, it would be superfluous to give any account, as it is presumed that modern invention has furnished the present times with such as are much preferable. Chalk and white lead were then used as paints, for we are told by Martial, that Fabula was afraid of the rain, on account of the *chalk* on her face; and Sabella of the sun, because of the *ceruse* with which she was painted. The famous Poppæa, who was first the mistress, and afterwards the wife of Nero, made use of an unctuous paint which hardened upon the face, and remained there till she chose to take it off by warm milk. As this paint originated from an empress, it soon became so fashionable at Rome, that it was used almost by every woman when at home in her own house; in the common phrase of the times it was called the domestic face; and, if



if we may credit Juvenal, the only one CHAP.  
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which frequently was known to the husband, the natural one which it covered, being reserved for occasional lovers. In order also to rectify what they supposed nature had made amiss, they had depilatory plaisters to take off superfluous hairs from the eye-brows, or other parts of the face; nor was the art of painting, and otherwise making artificial eye-brows, unknown to them. The teeth, we may readily believe, were also an object of much attention; they were cleaned and whitened by a variety of methods, and artificial ones were placed in the room of such as age or accident had destroyed; but the materials of which they were made seem not to have been judiciously chosen. “Thou  
“ hast only three teeth,” says Martial to Maxima, “and these are of box varnished  
“ over.” But with all this art, there were some defects for which they were not provided with any remedy: “If,” says the same poet to Lælia, “thou art not ashamed to  
“ make use of borrowed teeth and hair, yet  
“ still thou must be embarrassed; What  
“ wilt thou do for an eye, there are none  
“ to be bought?” Had the unfortunate Lælia lived in our more inventive days,  
even

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even this defect might have been supplied. To sum up all, the Roman ladies took great care that their skins should be kept perfectly clean and sweet, by frequent bathing; and some of them, not contented with common water for this purpose, used to mix it with a variety of detergent or sweet-scented ingredients: Poppæa, whom we have before mentioned, had every day the milk of five hundred asses made into a bath, which she supposed gave her skin a softness and polish beyond that of any other woman.

Materials  
of which  
the Ro-  
man dress  
was com-  
posed.

THE most common materials for clothing among the Romans, were wool and flax; materials less fine indeed than those we have at present, but to supply that defect, they were richly embroidered, and frequently loaded with different kinds of jewels. Linen only became known to them in the time of the emperors; and, perhaps, nearly about the same time, the use of silk was introduced among them; but it was long so scarce and expensive, that a small quantity of it was only mixed with wool or flax, in the composition of their finest stuffs. Heliogabalus is the first on record who had a robe made entirely of silk. At that time  
it

it must have been exceedingly dear, for it was sold for its weight of gold fifty years afterwards; as we learn from the answer of Aurelian to his wife. when she desired him to let her have a silk mantle, "I shall take care," said he, "not to buy threads for their weight in gold."

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As silk is the most beautiful and elegant material which has ever been made use of to adorn the fair forms whose history we are writing; we hope our readers will not consider a short account of it as foreign to our purpose. Silk is said to have been brought from Persia into Greece three hundred and twenty-three years before Christ, and from India to Rome in the year two hundred and seventy-four after Christ. During the reign of Tiberius, a law was made in the senate, forbidding men to debase themselves by wearing silk, which was only fit for women; and so little were the Europeans acquainted with its culture, that it was then supposed to grow upon trees like cotton. In the year five hundred and fifty-five, two monks brought from Cerinda, in the East Indies, to Constantinople, the eggs of some silk-worms, which having hatched in a dunghill,

Short ac-  
count of  
silk.

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they fed the young insects with mulberry leaves, and by this management they soon multiplied to such a degree, that manufactures of silk were erected at Constantinople, at Athens, at Thebes, and at Corinth. In the year eleven hundred and thirty, Roger, king of Sicily, brought manufacturers of silk from Greece, and settled them at Palermo, where they taught the Sicilians the art of breeding the silk-worms, and of spinning and weaving the silk. From Sicily, the art was carried over all Italy, from thence to Spain; and a little before the time of Francis the First, it was brought to the south of France. Henry the Fourth of France, was at great pains to introduce manufactures of silk into his kingdom, contrary to the advice of his favourite minister the Duke de Sully, and by his perseverance, at last brought them to a tolerable perfection. In the year twelve hundred and eighty-six, the ladies of some noblemen first appeared in silk mantles in England, at a ball in Kenilworth Castle in Warwickshire. In the year sixteen hundred and twenty, the art of weaving silk was first introduced into England, and in the year seventeen hundred and nineteen, Lombes's machine for throwing silk was erected

erected at Derby, a piece of mechanism CHAP.  
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which well deserves the attention and applause of every beholder; it contains twenty-six thousand five hundred and eighty-six wheels, the whole of which receive their motion from one wheel that is turned by water. Such was the introduction of silk, but it continued long too scarce and dear to be applied to common use. Henry the Second of France, was the first European who wore silk stockings. In the reign of Henry the Seventh, no silk stockings had appeared in England; Edward the sixth, his son and successor, was presented by Sir Thomas Gresham with the first pair that ever were seen in this country; and the present was at that time much talked of as valuable and uncommon. Queen Elizabeth was also presented with a pair of black silk stockings by her silk-woman, and was so fond of them, that we are told by Holwell, she never wore any other kind afterwards. From these times, however, silk has, in every shape, become so common among us, that it is now no longer the distinguishing badge of rank and opulence, but to be found among people of every station, from the throne to the dunghill.

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Most fashionable colours among the Romans.

BUT to return to our subject. The Romans had long existed as a people before the fashion of wearing garments of various colours was introduced among them; during the time of the republic, white was the common colour of the cloaths, and even of the shoes worn by the ladies. Aurelian granted them a power of wearing red shoes; and, at the same time, prohibited all men from that privilege, except himself and successors in the empire.

What kind of shoes they wore.

SHOES, with high heels, were first invented at Rome; Augustus wore them, in order to make himself appear taller; the priests put them on at their solemn sacrifices, and ladies of distinction at balls and public meetings. The shoes of great men were adorned with gold, and we have reason to believe, though it is not recorded, that the ladies copied their example. Heliogabalus adorned his shoes with precious stones, finely engraved by the greatest artists: the succeeding emperors, imitating the pattern he had shewn them, loaded their shoes with a variety of ornaments; and had the Roman eagle, for the most part, embroidered on them, studded round with pearls and diamonds; but we cease to wonder at this foolish

foolish extravagance of the emperors, when CHAP. XXI. we are told, that even private citizens of Rome, besides the ornaments on the upper parts of their shoes, had the soles of them sometimes made of gold.

WE have already seen, that the ancient inhabitants of the North had a much greater regard for their women than any other people, who were equally rude and uncultivated: it would, therefore, be offering an indignity to these women to suppose, that they, in their turn, did not endeavour to please and become agreeable to the men, by such arts of dress and ornament as were then known among them, as well as by the virtues of chastity and obedience, for which they were so remarkably distinguished. We are not, however, to suppose, that in the article of dress, we shall find them equal to many of the ancient nations we have hitherto mentioned. The countries they inhabited, in themselves barren and inhospitable, hardly afforded any thing to assist the charms of nature: all the necessary arts were either totally unknown, or only in a state of infancy; of the elegant ones, the northerns were entirely ignorant. From these causes, the materials  
which

Of the  
northern  
nations,  
their  
dress.

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which furnished the female toilette, must have been but few and imperfect. The hair, which when properly managed is, without any ornament, one of the greatest beauties of the sex, seems to have been the chief object of their attention. It was sometimes tied and knotted on the crown of their heads, from whence falling down, it hung negligently on their backs and shoulders. Among some tribes, they had acquired the art of curling it; but among the greatest part, it flowed loose and carelessly in the wind. A linen shift, without any sleeves, frequently variegated with purple, and over this a cloak of the skins of such animals as their husbands had killed in hunting, seems to have been their most magnificent finery. They were generally beautiful, having lively blue eyes, large but regular features, a fine complexion, and a skin which, for whiteness, equalled the snow upon their mountains. Their stature was tall; their shape easy and majestic; and, to crown the whole, this majesty was blended with all that softness which so peculiarly characterises the sex, and which renders them at once the objects of our admiration and our love. So accomplished, they had little occasion for the



the toilette, and they made as little use of it; where nature had done so much, art would have only spoiled her work.

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WE shall not endeavour to develop the various modes of dress, which were the offspring of fancy, fashion, or necessity, among the descendants of these northern nations, of whom we have been now speaking, in those periods called the middle ages: but shall only remark in general, that about the time of Charlemagne, the men dressed in short cloaths, over which, on days of ceremony, they threw a kind of mantle lined with fur. Charlemagne himself wore fillets twisted round his legs, in the manner of buskins, but we are not informed how the ladies were then dressed. The history of France gives us a few sketches of the revolutions that their dress had undergone, without particularly specifying the times in which these revolutions happened; we shall, therefore, pass over them, and observe as we go along, that, by the laws of the Burgundians, such was the importance of dress and ornament, that it was on the demise of a mother, to go by invariable succession to her daughter or daughters. Other northern nations had

Dress of  
the mid-  
dle ages  
variable.

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had laws of a similar nature, by which males were intirely excluded from the succession to things of this kind, so long as any female relation existed.

To this account we shall add some remarks on the dress of the Anglo-Saxons and Danes. They considered their hair as one of their greatest personal beauties, and took much care to dress it to the utmost advantage. Young ladies wore it loose, and flowing in ringlets over their shoulders; but after marriage they cut it shorter, tied it up, and covered it with a head-dress, according to the fashion of the times. To have the hair entirely cut off, was a disgrace of such a nature, that it was even thought a punishment not inadequate to the crime of adultery. So great, in the Middle Ages, was the value set upon the hair by both sexes, that, as a piece of the most peculiar mortification, it was ordered by the canons of the church, that the clergy should keep their hair short, and shave the crown of their head; and that they should not, upon any pretence whatever, endeavour to keep the part so shaved from the public view. Many of the clergy of these times, finding themselves so greatly mortified,

mortified, and perhaps so easily distinguished from all other people by this particularity, as to be readily detected, when they committed any of the follies or crimes to which human nature is in every situation liable, in order to reduce the whole to a similarity with themselves, endeavoured to persuade mankind, that long hair was criminal. Amongst these, St. Wulstan eminently distinguished himself; "He rebuked," says William of Malmfbury, "the wicked of all ranks with great boldness; but was particularly severe upon those who were proud of their long hair. When any of these vain people bowed their heads before him, to receive his blessing; before he gave it, he cut a lock from their hair, with a sharp penknife, which he carried about him for that purpose; and commanded them, by way of penance for their sins, to cut all the rest in the same manner: if any of them refused to comply with his command, he reproached them for their effeminacy, and denounced the most dreadful judgments against them." Such, however, was the value of the hair in those days, that many rather submitted to his censures, than part with it; and such was the folly of the

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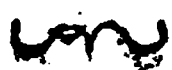
church, and of this saint in particular, that the most solemn judgments were denounced against multitudes, for no other crime than not making use of penknives and scissars, to cut off an ornament bestowed by nature.

BUT not contented with silly exclamations against long hair, the clergy reproached also in the bitterness of their zeal, those who wore false locks, or garments of any other colour but white; who used instruments of music; vases of gold or silver; white bread; foreign wines; warm baths, or any thing calculated for indulgence or ostentation. As the patriarch Jacob had reposed his head on a stone, they vociferated with particular acrimony against all these who used downy pillows, and even dealt out damnation among those who were wicked enough to shave their beards; a crime, which, according to Tertullian, was an impious attempt to improve the works of the Creator. St. Paul, for what reason we know not, had declared that it was the glory of a woman, but the shame of a man, to have long hair; the clergy for many ages had implicitly adopted this opinion, and stretching it a little farther, had declared that

that to be criminal, which St. Paul had only called shameful. Bishop Serlo, preaching before Henry the First, painted in such odious colours the sinfulness of long hair, that he obliged the king and all his courtiers to crop their heads immediately after the service. "If religion," said a wag, "has made it damnation not to cut the hair, and damnation to cut the beard, it ought in justice to have marked exactly where the one begins and the other ends." Aaron, said the clergy, wore a long beard, but we hear of none of the ancients who had long hair beside Absalom, and he was hanged by it, as a visible punishment for so enormous a sin.

THE Anglo-Saxons were no strangers to the use of linen, as appears from several anecdotes in their history; and particularly from this, That confessors frequently ordered the most obstinate sinners to wear woollen shirts next their bodies, as an extraordinary penance. It would seem, however, that stockings, and other kinds of covering for the legs, were then but little used; as the clergy, who were the most wealthy of all others, frequently with naked

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XXI.Of the  
linen,  
stockings,  
and shoes  
of the  
Middle  
Ages.

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legs, approached the altar, and celebrated mass; till the year seven hundred and eighty-five, when a canon was made in these terms; "Let no minister of the altar presume to approach it, to celebrate mass, with naked legs; lest his filthiness appear, and God be offended." Some persons of condition had a kind of covering for their legs, which was fastened on with bandages, wrapped about from the foot to the knee, as appears from the figures of Edward the Confessor, of Guido, count of Ponthieu, and some others, in the famous tapestry of Bayeux. But though many of the figures of this tapestry are without stockings; yet neither in this, nor any other of the monuments, which represent the dress of these times, are there any without shoes; though it would seem, that mankind were then so little acquainted with the proper materials for this purpose, that they generally made them of wood. That the common people should not be able to afford any other than wooden shoes, in periods so distant, does not surprise us; but we are rather astonished, when we are told, that in the ninth and tenth centuries, some of the greatest princes in Europe, were only equipped in this manner;

her; sure indications, that the invention of the times had not then discovered any thing that was more proper for the purpose.

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WHEN the two sexes are distinguished from each other, by the materials and fashion of their dress, it is a certain sign, that cultivation is arrived at no inconsiderable length. Among the ancient Germans there was, in this article, but little difference. \*Nor was there much more among the Anglo-Saxons, the most material was, that the mantles of the women flowed down almost to the ground, whereas those of the men were considerably shorter. Those people, as well as the Danes, seem to have been fond of every kind of ornament, and particularly of gold chains and bracelets: gold chains were worn by officers of high rank as well civil as military, and being given by the sovereigns, these sovereigns were on that account frequently called by the poets, *givers of gold chains*. Bracelets of gold, or other precious materials, are an ornament now solely appropriated to women. Among the Danes, however, they were indiscriminately the ornament of either sex; Earl Goodwin presented king Hardicanute with gold bracelets for his arms, and

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and so sacred were ornaments of this kind then esteemed, that they frequently swore by them, and are said to have held an oath of this nature as tremendous and inviolable, as the gods of the pagans did that which was sworn by the Styx.

Causes of  
the re-  
val of  
dress and  
orna-  
ment.

In the Middle Ages there prevailed among mankind, such an universal distrust of each other, owing to the frequency of crimes and the weakness of laws, that there was but little mutual intercourse or social friendship among the inhabitants of Europe. Those promiscuous meetings which distinguish polished nations, and call both sexes together, were unknown; hence neither sex had then any other motive to induce it to dress than the love of cleanliness, and the innate desire of finery. When the institution of chivalry started up, it gave a happy turn to this rudeness of manners; it afforded more protection to the women, and consequently enabled them to see more company; it introduced numerous meetings at tilts and tournaments, where the ladies were constituted the judges of valour and rewarders of the valiant, where their charms were supposed to add courage to the hearts, and strength



Strength to the arms of their admirers, and where they were consequently furnished with the strongest motives to decorate and embellish their persons. But besides tilts and tournaments, in the Middle Ages, there arose also in Europe another kind of public meetings, called Fairs, to which both sexes resorted. While mutual diffidence and distrust diffused their baleful influence, and there was hardly any security from rapine and murder, but in the castles and strong holds of the barons, trade and commerce were in the most languid state; to revive them in some measure, fairs were first instituted, where merchants and traders brought their commodities and exposed them to sale; but a bare sale of goods for which there was but little demand, on account of the scarcity of money, did not at first answer the end of drawing many people together; the venders in time, to allure the multitude, besides the exposure of their goods, entertained them with a variety of public shows and diversions, and from that time their fairs became the fashionable places of rendezvous, and were not only another

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another motive for the sex to dress and endeavour to appear to advantage, but also afforded them the materials for that important purpose.

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## CHAPTER XXII.

*The same Subject continued.*

IN treating on the subject of dress, we have already had occasion to give some account of the splendour and magnificence of the ancient Easterns; in considering the present inhabitants of these regions, we shall see them still governed by the same principles, and led by the same love of ostentation.

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Of the  
women of  
the East.

SUCH is the constitution of the two sexes, that the whole of their actions are guided and influenced by each other. The women dress and use every means to appear beautiful and engaging in order to please the men, and the men assume bravery and every masculine accomplishment in their power, in order to please and render themselves acceptable to the women. In countries where the sexes are allowed freely to keep company with each other, such mutual efforts on both sides, as they appear to be the effects of that company, pass without exciting

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any wonder; but when we consider that in the East women should take the trouble to decorate and adorn themselves, when they are certain that these decorations and ornaments cannot be seen by the other sex, we are astonished. That women, however, do so, is an incontestible fact; and so powerful in the female breast is the passion of being admired, that should a woman, as it frequently happens in Asia, have only once in twenty years a chance of being seen and exciting that passion, she would every day during that time use all possible endeavours to put herself in a condition to excite it. The Abbe Lambert, in his account of the manners and customs of the East, observes of the Chinese women, that though they are certain they can be seen by none but their female domestics, yet they every morning pass several hours in dressing and adorning themselves.

Chinese  
head-dress  
costly and  
elegant.

THOUGH the Chinese are, perhaps, the most regularly economical people on the globe, yet the dress of their women, and particularly the ornaments of their heads, are strong instances of that love of finery and show, which has ever prevailed in the East.

**East.** The head-dress of their ladies commonly consists of several ringlets of hair variously disposed, and every where ornamented with small bunches of gold or silver flowers. Some of them adorn their heads with the figure of a fabulous bird made of gold or silver, according to the quality of the person, which has a grotesque though magnificent appearance. Ladies of the first rank sometimes have several of those birds fastened together in the shape of a crown, the workmanship of which is exquisitely curious. Young ladies generally wear a kind of crown made of pasteboard, covered with silk, ornamented with pearls, diamonds, and other jewels; and on the top of the head a bunch of flowers, either natural or artificial, in the middle of which is stuck small wires with sparkling jewels fastened on their points. The dress of their bodies, though often made of the richest materials, and decorated, or rather loaded, with the most costly ornaments, is to the last degree clumsy and inelegant; our readers, however, will form a better idea of it by looking at a Chinese figure, than we can convey by the most laboured description,

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Female  
dress in  
the East  
Indies.

IN that extensive part of the East Indies formerly subject to the Moguls, the sex, though confined, are peculiarly attentive to ornament. Their garments are made of the finest silks, richly flowered with gold and silver, and fitted to the shape with a degree of ease and elegance, which shews, that while they take nature for their model, their taste in imitating her is far from being contemptible. About the middle, they wear a girdle elegantly embroidered, at the end of which, where it is fastened before, hangs a globe of gold, or a large pearl; but their greatest attention seems to be paid to their hair, which they dress in a variety of forms, as pyramids, triangles, crescents, or in the figure of some favourite flower or shrub. This is done by gold buckles and wires intermixed with diamonds, and is a work of much time and no less dexterity, though after all, more easily demolished than an head-dress of any other fashion. Besides these tedious and expensive methods, they have a less difficult and more common way of dividing their hair into tresses, which flow with careless ease upon their shoulders, and to which they tie precious stones, and little plates of gold; when thus dressed, to  
be

be able to move the head in such a manner CHAP.  
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as to shew to the best advantage all its splendour and magnificence, is a female art not less difficultly attained, than the proper management of the fan was formerly in Europe, or the taking snuff with such an air as to display in the most enchanting manner a fine hand, and a finer diamond ring.

It has been a custom time immemorial, for women to pierce their ears, in order to hang to them some trinket, which either gratified their vanity, or was supposed to add some additional lustre to their charms; but this custom of giving torture by a ridiculous incision, and adding a superfluous load to nature, has not been confined to the ears only, the ancient inhabitants of the East had nose as well as ear jewels, and in several parts of the world we find the custom continued to this day. In some parts of the Indies they pierce one nostril, and put into it a gold ring, in which is set the largest and finest diamond they can procure. Our late adventurers in quest of discoveries to the South Sea, met a few instances of men who had something like a feather stuck across through both nostrils; and in New South

Ear and  
nose jew-  
els both  
used in  
some  
parts of  
the world.

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South Wales, it was almost common for the men to thrust the bone of some animal, five or six inches long, and nearly as thick as one's finger, through their noses, which so filled the nostrils, that they not only snuffled disagreeably, but were also obliged constantly to keep their mouths open for breath. In Caramania-deserta, not contented as in some countries with one ring, they make a second hole on the tip of the nose, and there fasten a second ring, which they adorn with a sprig of diamonds or of flowers, so as entirely to cover one side of the nose. The women of Persia, and of several other countries, still continue the ancient custom of wearing nose jewels.

To us Europeans, who have hardly left any part of the body except the nose without its particular ornaments and decorations, a nose embellished with jewels, or other trinkets, has an exceeding grotesque appearance; but this is only the effect of custom, from which the mind generally imbibes the ideas of beauty, elegance, and even of utility and necessity. Thus the Hottentot is persuaded that beauty is greatly augmented by a proper quantity of grease and  
urine,



urine. At Smyrna, the women imagine it consists in a plump fat body, with prominent breasts. The Dutchman finds elegance in a large pair of trunk breeches; the miser utility in that hoarded store, which, even though starving, he dare not make use of; and the man of fashion thinks his coach almost as necessary, as the porter does his legs and his shoulders.

BUT though both sexes in some parts of the East Indies adorn their noses, the ladies do not forget their ears also, which they generally pierce as in Europe, and load with gold and jewels. They likewise wear various kinds of necklaces, bracelets, and rings, many of which are of immense value there, and would be still more so among us. They have a variety of paints to improve the charms of nature, these they mix and lay so artfully upon their cheeks and eyes, that it is exceedingly difficult to discover them; they likewise paint the extremities of the nails, but in this instance, departing entirely from nature, they lay on a fine red so thick, that on the slightest view it appears to be the work of art. Black moles on the face, have long been considered in the East  
as

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as particularly beautiful. In the songs of their poets, and works of their painters, this fancied elegance is seldom forgot; and to supply it when wanting, was probably the cause which first introduced black patches. Their poets also frequently mention false hair and feathers, ornaments, of which we at present so much avail ourselves. But besides the arts of decoration and dress, the eastern women have, as in all other places, various other methods of attracting the attention. In Europe, a fine lady sometimes draws the eyes of the multitude upon her by an elegant snuff-box, or a brilliant ring; in Asia, she accomplishes the same purpose by a liberal use of betel, a root chewed by all ranks and conditions, and with which the more highly a female is scented, the more she is in the ton of her country.

BUT betel is not the only thing which the ladies depend on to draw the attention of the men, they also use for this purpose a great variety of the most costly essences and perfumes, whose aromatic flavour is brought to the highest perfection by an indulgent climate and a vertical sun. Of these they are so exceedingly fond, that the expence  
of

of perfumes often exceeds that of cloaths and jewels; for they are seldom without some perfumed flower, or fruit, in their hands; when they have none of these, they hold a phial of precious essence, which they, from time to time, sprinkle on their garments, although they are perfumed afresh every time they put them on. They have likewise in the East peculiar modes of attracting our sex by the voluptuousness of their figures, by their manners, and by their conversation; all which are calculated to excite passion and desire. Among the Balliaderes, or dancing girls of the East, we meet with a piece of dress, or ornament, of a very particular nature. To prevent their breasts from growing too large, or ill-shaped, they inclose them in cases made of exceeding light wood, which are joined together, and buckled behind; these cases are so smooth and pliable, that they yield to the various attitudes of the body, without being flattened, or injuring the delicacy of the skin; the outside of them is covered with gold leaf, and studded with diamonds. This ornament is well calculated to prevent the laxity induced by a hot climate, and while it thus preserves the beauties of nature, it does not so much

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conceal them as to hinder the heavings and palpitations of the bosom from being perceived.

Eastern  
magnifi-  
cence ;  
sketches  
of it.

WERE we to survey all Asia, we would every where meet with the strongest proofs of splendour and magnificence; but we shall finish what we have to say of it, by a relation of the state in which the Portuguese originally found Ormus, when they first sailed into the Gulph of Persia. “ The  
“ streets were covered with mats, and in  
“ some places with carpets; and the linen  
“ awnings, which were suspended from the  
“ tops of the houses, prevented any incon-  
“ venience from the heat of the sun. Indian  
“ cabinets, ornamented with gilded vases,  
“ or china filled with flowering shrubs, or  
“ aromatic plants, adorned their apartments;  
“ camels, laden with water, were stationed  
“ in the public squares; Persian wines, per-  
“ fumes, and all the delicacies of the table,  
“ were furnished in the greatest abundance,  
“ and they had the music of the East in its  
“ highest perfection. Ormus was crowded  
“ with beautiful women from all parts of  
“ Asia, who were instructed from their in-  
“ fancy in all the arts of varying and  
“ heigh-

“ heightening the pleasures of voluptuous  
 “ love. Universal opulence, an extensive  
 “ commerce, a refined luxury, politeness in  
 “ the men, and gallantry in the women, uni-  
 “ ted all their attractions to make this city  
 “ the seat of pleasure.”

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OF all the people with which we are as yet acquainted, the inhabitants of the extensive continent of America, seem to be in general the least favoured by nature, and to have made themselves the least assistance by art. In many places, seemingly but a little raised in the faculties of their minds above the beasts of their forests, they are not yet acquainted with the use of fire, of houses, or of clothing; and where they are acquainted with them, it is only in so imperfect a manner, that they do not derive from them half the advantages they are capable of affording. In such a condition, and situated in regions inhospitably barren, they have few materials for dress, and still less ingenuity in using them; as the appetite for dress, however, is visible among them, it frequently exerts itself in forming, what in Europe would be reckoned the most grotesque and laughable appearances,

Dress of  
 the wo-  
 men of  
 America.

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As the Americans are more the children of untutored nature, and consequently have a greater familiarity in their dress and ornaments than any other people, we shall only give a short and general description of them, without descending into the differences which distinguish the various tribes and nations from each other. There are few American ornaments in more esteem than garters; these the women make of buffaloes hair, and adorn them as highly as they can with beads and shells, taking care at the same time to dispose their other garments so as to shew them to the best advantage; besides these, they wear also pieces of deer-skin, which they tie to the outsides of their legs, and hang to them tortoise-shells, pebbles, and beads of various colours and sizes. But the legs are not the only parts of the body decorated with this kind of finery; both sexes are frequently seen so loaded with shells from head to foot, as to excite the laughter of an European. This custom of adorning themselves with beads and shells may, however, not be altogether the effect of ostentation and love of finery; beads and shells are their current money, and a person thus adorned, perhaps, carries his whole

whole property about him, the better to secure it from being stolen.

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BESIDES the ornaments that are the produce of their country, the Canadians of both sexes, since they became acquainted with the Europeans, are exceedingly fond of linen shirts: they do not wear them under their garments as with us, but hang them on over the whole, and neither change nor put them off till they drop piece by piece from their backs. Several of the men take much pains in adorning their hair with trinkets, and dressing it in a variety of fantastical figures, by the help of furs and feathers. The women scarcely ever decorate theirs with any thing but grease and powder of spruce bark, except upon extraordinary occasions, when they daub it over with vermillion, or tie it up in the skin of an eel, or a snake, so as to make it resemble the queue which the gentlemen wear in Europe. On days of particular festivity, they sometimes dress themselves in robes painted with figures of birds and other animals, and ornamented with shells and pieces of porcelain; these are frequently bordered with porcupines hair, curiously designed,

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XXII.  designed, and dyed of the most gaudy and shining colours, so artfully intermixed, as to have no inelegant appearance.

BEFORE they were supplied with other ornaments from Europe, the Americans of both sexes used such shining stones as were the produce of their own country, tying them to their hair, to their noses and ears, with the fibres of a deer's sinew; but since our intercourse with them, they have used brass and silver rings for their ears and their fingers; besides which, they fasten large buttons and knobs of brass to various parts of their attire, so as to make a tinkling when they walk or run. Both sexes esteem these as ornaments of the most distinguishing nature, and load themselves with them in the utmost proportion that their ability will reach to; so that our European traders judge of the fortune of an American by the trinkets on the crown of his head, at his ears, wrists, fingers, &c.; by the quantity of red paint daubed on his face, and by the finery at the collar of his shirt, if he happens to have one, which is far from being always the case.

ALTHOUGH



ALTHOUGH the same attire, and the same ornaments, are indiscriminately used both by the male and female savages, yet their dress is not altogether without sexual distinctions. The women bore small holes in the lobes of the ears for their ear-rings as in Europe; the hole which the men make for that purpose extends almost from one extremity of the external ear to the other. The men are frequently decorated with plumes of feathers and ensigns of war on their heads; the women, though they sometimes make use of feathers, seldom or never wear them in this manner. The men rarely appear without some of their warlike weapons, or the trophies of their victory fastened to various parts of their bodies; the women scarcely ever appear armed but in cases of necessity, and as rarely wear any of the spoils of the slain.

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~~~~~  
Distinction of
the sexes
by dress.

SOME nations of savages, not contented with such ornaments as are loose and easily detached from the body, have contrived to ornament the body itself by incisions, stainings, and paint. The Chilelian women of the province of Cuyo, and the plains on the East side of the Andes, paint some part of

Stains in
the skin a
part of
the ornament of
savages.

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of their faces of a green colour. In several of the islands lately discovered in the Great Southern Ocean, a variety of indelible stains are made in different parts of the body, by certain materials which sink into small punctures made in the skin. In Otaheite, this operation is called *tattowing*, and reckoned so essentially necessary, that none of either sex must be without it, especially the women, who are generally marked in the form of a Z on every part of their toes and fingers. But the part on which these ornaments are lavished with the greatest profusion, is the breech, which, in both sexes is stained with a deep black; and above that, as high as the short rib, are drawn arches which take a lighter shade as they arise, and seem to be distinguishing marks of honour, as they are shown by both sexes with an ostentatious pleasure.

THESE are almost the only ornaments used in this part of the globe; as to the dress, it differs little in the two sexes, and consists mostly of loose garments, such as we have already seen were used by almost all nations in their rude and unpolished state. People of condition, however, in Otaheite
are

are distinguished, not as among the ancients, ^{CHAP. XXII.} by their great variety of changes of raiment, but by the quantity which they wear at once; some of them wrap around their bodies several webs of cloth, each eight or ten yards long, and two broad, and throw a large piece loosely over all by way of a cloak, or even two of these pieces, if they wish to appear in extraordinary state. Thus the magnificence of unpolished nations seems always to have exerted itself in quantity only. Abraham dressed a whole calf, and served it up at an entertainment to two angels. Joseph helped his brother Benjamin to five times as much victuals as his brethren; and the same idea of quantity seems to have been regarded in all the feasting of the heroes of Homer, and some other of the ancients; nay, it descended among the Greeks, even to the periods of their greatest cultivation. One of the distinguishing privileges of the Spartan kings was, that they were to sit first down to a feast, and be served with a double portion of whatever was at table. As these distinctions of rank by the quantity of dress only, must, in hot countries, be exceedingly troublesome, the ladies of Otaheite always un-

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cover themselves as low as the waist in the evening, throwing off every thing with the same ease and freedom as our ladies would lay aside a glove, cloak, or supernumerary handkerchief.

Singular
kind of
head-
drefs in
Otaheite.

SINGULAR as this mode of dressing and undressing may appear to us, that of decorating their heads is hardly less so. They sometimes wear upon them little turbans, but their more common dress, and what they chiefly pride themselves in, is long threads of human hair, plaited so as hardly to be thicker than sewing silk, and often a mile or more in length, without a single knot; these they wrap round their heads in a manner that shews they are neither void of taste nor elegance, sticking flowers and sprigs of evergreen among them, to give them the greater variety. European satirists are apt to declaim against our ladies for spending so much time under the operation of a French hair-dresser, while even these untutored people cannot be supposed to employ much less in twisting so many yards of rope round their heads, and giving it the necessary decorations.

WE left our sketches of the dress of Europe at those periods of time, called the Middle Ages; and shall now resume them at these, which have only a little preceded our own. Should we endeavour to give a minute description of the present dress of Europe, the attempt would be like painting the colour of a camelion, or the shape of a proteus; both which would be changed long before we could finish our task. We shall, therefore, content ourselves with a few general observations on the subject.


WHEN the revival of arts and sciences began to polish the minds of our ancestors, and to give birth to new ideas; when trade and commerce began to furnish new materials, for the more elegant modes of decoration, the passions of the sex for dress began also to assume new and unrestrainable powers, and often hurried them to such unjustifiable lengths, that, deaf to reason, the embellishments which they thought were wanting, in order to make the same brilliant appearance as their neighbours, could not be dispensed with; though purchased at the price of reputation, and the ruin of fortune. Greece and Rome had often suffered by the same

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evil; and had often enacted sumptuary laws to restrain it: such laws now became absolutely necessary in Europe, and several of them were published by Henry the Fourth, of France; who saw, with regret, the women of his exhausted kingdom, exhausting themselves still more by the extravagance of their drefs. He was not, however, the first potentate who had recourse to this method; several, both before and after him, published edicts, afcertaining the utmost limits of finery to which every rank and condition of life might proceed; and beyond which they were not to go, without fubjecting themfelves to a fevere penalty.

WHEN we confider, how much greater the value of money was in the times we are fpeaking of, than at prefent, it will appear, that women were then much more coftly in their drefs than at this period, fo much de-claimed againft. In the fifteenth century, Laura, the celebrated miftrefs of the no lefs celebrated Petrarch, wore on her head a filver coronet, and tied up her hair with knots of jewels, “Her drefs,” fays the Author of the life of Petrarch, “was magnificent;” but, in particular, fhe had filk gloves bro-
“caded

“caded with gold;” though at this time silk CHAP.
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was so scarce, that a pound of it sold for 
near four pounds sterling, and none but the nobility were allowed to wear it. Women of inferior rank wore crowns of flowers, and otherwise dressed themselves with all the magnificence which circumstances and sumptuary laws would allow. In the sixteenth century we have a particular detail of the wedding cloaths of Mary, daughter of Sir John Neville, when married to Sir Gervase Clifton, the whole expence of which amounted to twenty-five pounds twelve shillings and threepence; a sum equal in value to about ten times the same quantity of our present money. The chief articles with which the bride was furnished were russet and white damask, black velvet bonnets and furs of various animals, as white hares, white lambs, black rabbits, &c.; and it is worth remarking, that in the whole catalogue there is only two yards of ribbon. A wedding-ring made of *gold* is particularly taken notice of; a circumstance, from which it would appear, that the generality of wedding-rings in those times were of some inferior metal.

A MOST

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Many
new ma-
terials for
dress and
ornament
brought
into use.

A MOST extensive acquisition to the materials of the toilette, was now introduced; this was linen, which had hitherto been known in Europe only as a curiosity; or at most as a decoration of the elevated and opulent: cambrics and lawns soon followed, as an improvement; and after these, fine laces were invented, of which women, almost ever since, have so much availed themselves. The art of weaving silk, so as to make garments, had, for some time, been known; but that of making it into ribbons, seems to have been yet in its infancy; they have since, however, become so general, that they make an indispensable part of the dress of every female, from the highest to the lowest station. Diamonds had long been known in the East, and some centuries before this, were introduced into Europe; but the art of polishing them was unknown; and in their natural state they did not shew half their lustre*. It was not

* They preserve, in the treasury of St. Denis, a clasp of the mantle which the kings of France used to wear on the day of their coronation: this piece is very ancient; and has what is called, four natural points. There is likewise, in the same treasury, a relic almost as ancient, and adorned with eight natural points; but all these stones are small, black, and no way agreeable to the eye. These, and some

long after, however, that the art of polish-
 ing them, 'by means of their own dust, and
 so giving them all their distinguishing brilli-
 ancy, was discovered. All these, and some
 others of less importance, were acquisitions
 to the stock of female ornament, and ren-
 dered the business of the toilette a matter
 that required more time, as well as more
 taste, than it had ever done before. From
 the fourteenth century, in which America
 and the Indies were discovered, to the pre-
 sent time, the variations of female dress and
 ornament have been more owing to the in-
 constancy of manners, and instability of
 fashion, than to the addition of any new
 materials.

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ALTHOUGH it is not consistent with the
 plan we have laid down, to give a particu-
 lar description of all the different forms that
 dress has assumed, in consequence of dif-
 ferent materials and different fashions. We
 think it incumbent on us to make some

others, preserved in the cabinets of the curious, in various parts of
 Europe, fully demonstrate, that even the diamond, before the art of
 giving it a proper polish was discovered, was far from being that brilli-
 ant, and almost inestimable jewel which it is at present, when properly
 improved by the art of the lapidary.

observa-

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observations on these forms, in a few of the ages immediately preceding those in which we live. In the reign of Henry the Second, of Richard the First, and of John, the ladies wore long cloaks, which being thrown over their shoulders, hung down to their heels behind, and were scarcely visible before. In the time of Richard the Second, Chaucer describes the dress of the women as highly immodest. Queen Anne, consort of Richard the Second, first introduced the custom of riding, as presently used by the ladies; before her time, they rode with a leg on each side of the horse: she likewise brought into fashion high head-dresses, in the shape of a sugar-loaf, with streamers which wanted behind them in the wind; and gowns with long trains, which in walking were turned up, and tied to the girdle. Queen Mary seems to have been the first who brought in the great starched ruff, which was also worn during the reign of Elizabeth, in whose time also the ladies were muffled up to the chin, with long picked stays and hoop petticoats. Elizabeth is also said to have been the first who introduced stockings into England, nothing being wore before her time but hose, which were breeches and stockings

stockings all of one piece. In the time of CHAP. XXII. James the First, the tub farthingale first appeared; it made the women look so large round the hips, that the lady of Sir Peter Wyche being introduced to one of the Sultanas at the Port, was asked by her if all the English-women were made in a manner so extraordinary. In the last century, both sexes allowed their hair to hang down over their foreheads, till it reached their eyebrows. Male arrogance is apt to suppose that whim and caprice have dictated every fashion that the other sex have followed; but have they less dictated to us, or have we been slower in obeying them? In the time of Edward the Third, the men wore hoods buttoned under the chin, stockings of various colours, girdles of gold and silver, and shoes with long toes turned up and fastened to their knees with chains of gold. Chaucer mentions, that the cloaths of the men were in his time scalloped, punched, chiseled full of holes, and trailing upon the ground. Henry the Fifth ordained that no man should wear shoes more than six inches wide at the toe. Edward the Fourth ordered that no gown or mantle should be used, which was not long enough to cover

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the buttocks and other parts not usually exposed to view. Did the fair sex ever exhibit fashions more whimsical? Did they dress themselves less agreeably to nature?

All kinds
of orna-
ment de-
spised in
the time
of Crom-
well.

ALMOST every religion, which had been promulgated, previous to that of Christianity, had interwoven, in its essence, a number of ceremonies, where grandeur and magnificence were ostentatiously displayed. These religions, therefore, instead of discouraging, rather encouraged ornament and finery. But the Author of the Christian system, having taught, by his example, as well as his doctrine, the utmost plainness and simplicity, it, in time, became fashionable for such of the members of that system, as had more zeal than understanding, to exclaim, in the bitterest terms, against every species of dress that had any other object in view than to cover shame, and defend from cold. This rage of turning all things into the most primitive simplicity, seemed rising to the zenith of its glory, about the time the Protector began to make some figure in England. During his administration, it openly triumphed over sense, reason, and decency. Women were then in so much disgrace,

disgrace, that they were denied all kinds of ornament; and even the beauties bestowed by nature, were considered as criminal disadvantages to the fair possessors, and sufficient motives to induce every Christian to shun their company; because it was impossible to be in it without sinning.

THE pulpits often echoed the following sentiments, that man being conceived in sin, and brought forth in iniquity, is a slave to the flesh, till regenerated by the spirit; that it was his complaisance for woman that first wrought his debasement, that he ought not therefore to glory in his shame, nor love the fountain of his corruption; that he should not marry on account of love, affection, or the social joys of wedlock, but purely to increase the number of the saints, which he should never attempt to do without prayer and humiliation, that his offspring might thereby avoid the curse. Such being the notions instilled into the people, the most virtuous emotions of nature were considered as arising from original guilt, and beauty avoided as an instrument in the hands of Satan, to seduce the hearts of the faithful. Even the women, caught with the unnatural

C c 2 contagion,

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contagion, laid aside the ornaments of their sex, and endeavoured to make themselves appear disgusting by humiliation and fasting; nay, some of them were so much afraid of ornament, that they even considered cloaths of any kind as a sinful decoration, and a lady, full of that idea, came into the church where Cromwell sat, in the condition of our original mother before she plucked the fig-leaf, that she might be, as she said, *a sign to the people.*

The pas-
sions take
an oppo-
site direc-
tion.

BUT as the human passions, like springs, the more forcibly they have been bent, fly the more violently in the opposite direction, so the restoration was no sooner brought about, than all this public enthusiasm vanished, and elegance of dress and levity of manners, soon became more the fashion than slovenliness and puritanism had been before. Pleasure was now the universal object, and the pleasure of love took the lead of all others. But beauty, unconnected with virtue, was the object of this love, it was therefore void of honour or morality, in consequence of which, female virtue, robbed of its reward, became less inflexible, and a total degeneracy of manners ensued.

IN

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dresses in
different
periods
and coun-
tries.

IN every country where dress is under the direction of taste and judgment, it is so contrived as neither altogether to conceal, nor altogether to discover, the beauties of the female form. This general rule, however, has not been without exceptions; in all countries, antiquated prudes, and women outrageously virtuous, muffle themselves like Egyptian mummies, and exclaim in the bitterness of their hearts against the nakedness of the rest of the sex*; while on the other hand, women of less rigid principles, and those abandoned to prostitution, throwing aside all decency, seem to wish that the whole female toilette were reduced to the original fig-leaf. Some nations too, are less delicate in this respect than others. The Italians and French have ever been remarkably so, while the Spanish have fallen into the opposite extreme. At Venice, the ladies in the beginning of the last century, dressed in such light thin stuffs, that not only the shape of the body, but even the colour of the skin,

* In the latter end of the fourteenth century, a monk of the order of St. Augustine, who had acquired great reputation for piety declaimed so successfully at Pavia against the ornaments of the times, that many ladies renouncing their finery, appeared in all the simplicity which this supposedly inspired monk dictated to them.

was

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was easily seen through them; and at this day the dress of their modest women, is hardly more decent than that of our common prostitutes. The French ladies are little less distinguished for their looseness of dress than their neighbours the Italians; almost the only difference is, that, more light and fantastic, they have flown with greater rapidity from one fashion to another. In the fourteenth century, they appeared half naked at public assemblies, and in the public walks dressed so much like the men, that they could hardly be distinguished from them but by the voice and complexion. Such have long been the modes of dressing in Italy and France, as to endeavour to show every charm which can with any tolerable degree of decency be displayed. While in Spain, where the spirit of chivalry is hardly extinguished, and where the women consequently still retain a little of the romantic dignity which was annexed to it, so far from showing their nakedness, they have hardly as yet condescended even to show their faces to the other sex.

THOUGH the French have at present taken the lead in dictating every fantastical fashion

fashion to the rest of Europe, it would seem that formerly the Italians were not less distinguished on this account. Petrarch describing the dress of Italy in his time, mentions shoes with pointed toes, so long that they reached to the knees; head-dresses with wings; and adds, that the men furrowed their foreheads with those ivory needles with which the women fastened their hair; and squeezed their stomachs with machines of iron. The pointed shoes were not, however, peculiar to Italy, they were worn all over Europe; and were either fastened to the knee, or had an iron spike sometimes an ell long projecting from the toe. These, and the iron machines, were certainly less natural, and consequently more ridiculous, than any fantastic fashion which has appeared in this fantastic age.

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As the ornamental part of dress is certainly meant to heighten the beauties of nature, nothing can be more evident than that it should always coincide with her designs, wherever she is not defective or luxuriant. Such we presume are the ideas of true taste, but such, however, have not always been those adopted by the leaders of fashions.

Contra-
dictory fa-
shions in
England.

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fashions. Towards the beginning of the present century, it seems to have been the prevailing opinion, that nature had made the female waist greatly too large; to remedy which, the stiffest stays were laced on in the tightest manner, lest the young ladies should become clumsy, or crooked. Towards the middle of the century, it began to be discovered, that besides the uneasiness arising from being tight laced, it frequently produced the very effects it was intended to prevent. Physicians and philosophers now declaimed against stays, and they were by many laid aside with such abhorrence, that the fashion took quite a different turn. We discovered that our mothers had been all in the wrong, and that nature had not made the female waist nearly so large as it ought to have been; but the ladies supplied this defect so well with cloaths, that about the years seventeen hundred and fifty-nine and seventeen hundred and sixty, every woman, old and young, had the appearance of being big with child. In ten or twelve years the fashion began to take the opposite direction again, and small waists are now esteemed so great a beauty, that, in endeavouring to procure them, women have

out-

outdone all the efforts of their grandmothers in the beginning of the century. Such have been the revolutions of the waist within these fifty years, those of the breasts and shoulders have not been less conspicuous. About the beginning of the century, it was highly indecent to be naked a few inches below the chin. About the middle of it, she was dressed in the highest taste who showed the greatest part of her breasts and shoulders. Some years afterward, every female of whatever condition was muffled up to the ears. At present that mode is discarded, and the naked breasts and shoulders begin again to appear. As we have already seen, that in all countries women have been particularly solicitous about the ornament and dress of their heads, so in ours these have been an object of so much attention, that the materials employed, and the variations produced by them, are beyond our power to describe. We shall only, therefore, observe in general, that the head-dress of the present times has a near resemblance to that which we have already delineated, as used by the ladies of ancient Rome, and consists of so much wool, false hair, pomatum and paste, and of so many quilts, combs, pins, curls, ribbons, laces,

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laces, and other materials, that the head of a modern lady in full dress, is commonly something more than one-third of the length of her whole figure. We must, however, observe, in justice to the sex, that such preposterous modes of dressing are not peculiar to them alone; the men have not been less rapid in their changes, nor have these changes given proofs of a more elegant taste, or a more solid judgment.

BUT besides the methods of ornament and dress common to all nations, the women of Europe have a variety of others, by which they endeavour to attract the attention and attach the heart. Among those we may reckon every genteel and polite female accomplishment, such as music, drawing, dancing, to all which we may add that correspondent softness of body and of mind, that radiance which sparkles in their eyes, and the melody that flows from their tongue, their unaffected modesty, and the nameless other qualities which so eminently distinguish them from all the women who are educated only to become slaves, and ministers of pleasure, to the tyrant man.



WE shall finish this subject by observing, that though almost in every country the sexes are distinguished from each other by their dress and ornaments, yet another distinction which is of some use in society, seems but little attended to. In many places there is no discovering a married woman from a virgin. In England, and several other countries where the marriage ceremony is performed with a ring, this being perpetually worn, is, when a lady has not a glove upon her hand, a mark by which she discovers herself to be married; but in Scotland, and other places where no ring is used at the marriage ceremony, no particular ring is used afterwards. The Swiss are, in some parts of their country, the only people we have met with, who seem to think it necessary that married and unmarried women should be visibly distinguished from each other; the unmarried separate their long hair into two divisions, and allow it to hang at full length braided with ribbons; after marriage these tresses are no longer allowed to hang down, but are twisted round the head, and fixed at the crown with large silver pins: hence a married woman is easily dis-

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tinguished from a single one, and a man runs no risque of accosting a wife in the language which he means only to speak to a virgin.

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C H A P. XXIII.

Of Courtship.

OF all that variety of passions which so differently agitate the human breast, none work a greater change on the sentiments, none more dulcify and expand the feelings, than love. Being compounded of all the tender, of all the humane and disinterested virtues, it calls forth at once all their soft ideas, and exerts all their good offices*. The declaration of this social and benevolent passion to the object that inspires it, is what we commonly call courtship, and the time of this courtship, notwithstanding the many embarrassments and uneasinesses which attend it, is generally considered as one of the happiest periods of human life, at least so long as the lover is supported by hope, that pleasant delirium of the soul.

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XXIII.Idea of
love.

* The reverend Mr. Sterne, author of *Tristram Shandy*, used to say, That he never felt the vibrations of his heart so much in unison with virtue, as when he was in love; and that whenever he did a mean or unworthy action, on examining himself strictly, he found that at that time he was loose from every sentimental attachment to the fair sex.

T H O U G H

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That
males may
ask, and
females
refuse,
seems a
general
law.

THOUGH the declaration of a passion so benign and gentle as that which we have now described, cannot in either sex be considered as shameful or dishonourable; yet the great Author of nature, throughout the wide extent of his animated works, appears to have placed the privilege of declaring in the male, and that of refusing in the female. Among the most savage brute animals, this privilege of the female is seldom infringed, but among human savages it is totally taken from her; she is neither left at liberty to chuse for herself, nor to refuse the husband whom her father or other relations appoint for her.

THOUGH it is presumable, that the mutual inclination of the sexes to each other, is nearly equal in each; yet as we commonly see the declaration of that inclination made by the men, let us enquire, whether this is the effect of custom, or of nature? If what we have just now observed be a general fact, that the males of all animals first discover their passion to the females, then it will follow, that this is the effect of nature. But if, on the contrary, it be true, as some travellers affirm, that, in several
savage

savage countries, the women not only de-
 clare their passions with as much ease and
 freedom as the men, but also frequently en-
 deavour to force the men to their embraces,
 then it will seem to be the effect of custom.
 Custom, however, that whimsical and capri-
 cious tyrant of the mind, seldom arises out
 of nothing; and in cases where nature is
 concerned, frequently has nature for her
 basis. Allowing then that it is custom;
 which through a long succession of ages has,
 in Europe, and many other parts of the
 world, placed the right of asking in men;
 yet that very custom, in our opinion, may
 fairly be traced to nature; for nature, it is
 plain, has made man more bold and intre-
 pid than woman, less susceptible of shame,
 and better fitted for almost all the active
 scenes of life. It is, therefore, highly pro-
 bable, that, conscious of these qualities, he
 at first assumed the right of asking; a right
 to which custom has at last given him a kind
 of exclusive privilege.

TAKING it for granted then, that the
 declaration of the sentiment of love, is a
 privilege of the men, founded on nature,
 and sanctified by custom, the various modes
 of

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Courtship
in ancient
times car-
ried on by
proxy.

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of making that declaration by them, and of accepting or refusing their offers by the women, were we able to give a perfect account of them, would make one of the most curious and entertaining parts of this history, and equally furnish matter of speculation for the fine lady and the philosopher. We can, however, exhibit but little of this entertainment, while we treat of the ancient inhabitants of the East; who, strangers to sentiment and delicacy, bought a bride with the same dispassionate coolness and deliberation, as they would have done an ox or an ass. And even in the review of other nations, historical information does not enable us to make it so complete as we could wish.

WHEN Abraham sent Eliezer, his servant, to court a bride for his son Isaac, it appears, from the story, that sentiment was entirely excluded; that Abraham had never seen Rebecca, knew not whether her person and temper were agreeable, nor whether the young couple would be pleased with each other; and that the only motive which determined his choice was, because she was his relation. We do not so much as hear, that Isaac was consulted in the matter; nor is there

there even a suspicion, that he might refuse or dislike the wife which his father had selected for him. Circumstances which afford the strongest proof that, in those days, love and regard had little or no existence: and likewise, that the liberty of choice in matrimony was more restricted among the Israelites than the neighbouring nations; for Laban, the Midianite, did not seem to chuse for his sister Rebecca, as Abraham had done for his son; but asked her, after Eliezer had made his proposal, "Whether she would go with the man?" And the manner in which she consented, shews, that it is to art and refinement we owe the seeming reserve of modern times; and not to honest and untutored nature, which is never ashamed to speak the sentiments of virtue, "I will go," answered she.

FROM this story, of the manner in which Rebecca was solicited, we learn two things, which throw much light on the courtship of antiquity. The first is, that women were not courted in person by the lover, but by a proxy; whom he, or his parents, deputed in his stead. The second, that this proxy did not, as in modern times, endeavour to gain

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the affection of the lady he was sent to, by enlarging on the personal properties, and mental qualifications of the lover; but by the richness and magnificence of the presents he made to her and her relations. Presents have been, from the earliest ages, and are to this day, the mode of transacting all kinds of business in the East. If you go before a superiour, to ask any favour, or even to require what is your due, you must carry a present with you, if you wish to succeed; so that courtship having been anciently negociated in this manner, it is plain, that it was only considered in the same light as any other negociable business, and not as a matter of sentiment, and of the heart.

It appears, however, that Jacob did not, according to the custom of the times, and after the example of Isaac his father, court a bride by proxy. He went to visit her in person, and their first meeting has in it something very *remarkable*. Lovers, generally, either are chearful, or endeavour to assume that appearance; but Jacob drew near, and kissed Rachel, *and lift up his voice and wept*. How a behaviour of this kind suited the temper of a youthful virgin, in the times
of

of primitive simplicity, we know not; but may venture to affirm, that a blubbering lover would make but a ridiculous and unengaging figure in the eyes of a modern lady of the ton. In the courtship, however, or rather purchase of a wife by Jacob, we meet with something like sentiment; for when he found that he was not possessed of money or goods, equal to the price which was probably set upon her, he not only condescended to purchase her by servitude, but even seemed much disappointed, when the tender-eyed Leah was faithlessly imposed upon him, instead of the beautiful Rachel. Though the passion of Sechem seems to have been strongly determined upon Dinah, it does not appear that he ever thought of gaining her affection: he applied to her brethren; he made them advantageous offers for the possession of her person, regardless of her inclination and her heart; "Ask me never so much dowry," said he, "and I will give according as you shall say unto me." But when we consider, that in the times we are delineating, wives were only looked upon as a kind of superior slaves, and not as the social companions of life, and the equal sharers of good and bad fortune; we easily

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perceive, that sentiment in the choice, and reciprocal affection in the bargain, were not so necessary as in our times, when the case is happily reversed.

Cases
where
women
court the
men.

WE laid it down before as a general rule, that the declaration of love was at all times, and in all countries, the peculiar privilege of the men; but as all general rules are liable to some exceptions, there are also a few to this. An Israelitish widow had, by law, a power of claiming in marriage the brother of her deceased husband. In which case, as the privilege of the male was transferred to the female, so that of the female was likewise transferred to the male; he had the power of refusing. The refusal, however, was accompanied with some mortifying circumstances, the woman whom he had thus flighted was to come unto him in the presence of the elders of the city, to loose the shoe from his foot, and spit in his face. To a man, by nature bold, intrepid, and invested with an unlimited power of asking, a refusal was of little consequence; but to a woman, more timid and modest, and whose power of asking was limited to the brethren of her deceased husband, it was not only an
affront

affront, but a real injury, as it would naturally raise suspicions in every one, that the refusal arose from some well-grounded cause, and every one would therefore so neglect and despise the woman, that she could have but little chance for another husband. Hence, perhaps, it was thought necessary to fix some public stigma on the dastard who, contrary to the gallantry of male nature, shunned the addresses of a woman. A custom something similar to this obtains at present among the Hurons and Iroquois; when a wife dies, the husband is obliged to marry the sister, or, in her stead, the woman whom the family of his deceased wife shall chuse for him. A widow is also obliged to marry one of the brothers of her deceased husband, if he died without children, and she is still of an age to have any. Exactly the same thing takes place in the Caroline islands; where, as well as among the Hurons, the woman may demand such brother to marry her, though we are not informed whether they ever exercise that power. The Persians, formerly, celebrated a festival called *Merd Giran*, in honour of the angel *Iskendarmuz*, who was considered as the guardian and protector of women; during this festival the
sex

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sex were honoured with several very singular privileges. Wives were vested with an almost unlimited power, and husbands were obliged by custom implicitly to obey their orders. Virgins, without offending against that delicacy, which, at all other times, laid a restraint upon their words and actions, might then, almost with a certainty of success, pay their addresses to such young men as had attracted their hearts: hence it happened, that the marriages made, and engagements entered into, were more numerous about the time of this festival, than at any other time of the year. But these marriages and engagements, were not altogether a consequence of the women having then a power of asking the men, another cause contributed also to make them more numerous; the angel was supposed to be peculiarly favourable to all those who added to the gaiety of his festival by their nuptials and engagements, and all were willing to purchase his favour, when the mode of doing it coincided so much with their own inclinations.

IN the Isthmus of Darien, we are told that the right of asking is lodged in, and promiscuously exerted by both sexes; who, when

when they feel the passion of love, declare it without the least hesitation or embarrassment. In the Ukraïn, it is said, that the women more generally court than the men; when a young woman falls in love with a man, she is not in the least ashamed to go to his father's house, to reveal her passion in the most tender and pathetic manner, and to promise the most submissive obedience, if he will accept of her for a wife. Should the insensible man pretend any excuse, she tells him she is resolved never to go out of the house till he give his consent, and accordingly taking up her lodging, remains there; if he still obstinately refuses her, his case becomes exceedingly distressing; to turn her out would provoke all her kindred to revenge her honour; so that he has no method left but to betake himself to flight till she is otherwise disposed of. In China, when it is determined to marry one of the princesses of the royal family, she is placed behind a curtain, in a large hall; twelve young men of the first quality are brought in, and ordered to walk backward and forward, that she may take a proper view of them, which done, she fixes upon two, and of these the king chooses which shall be her husband.

FROM



FROM the story of Samson and Delilah, it would seem that the power of asking a female in marriage, was not even vested in the young men of Israel, but in their parents only. Samson saw in Timnah, a woman of the daughters of the Philistines who was beautiful, and he came and told his father and his mother, and said, "I have seen a woman of the daughters of the Philistines, now, therefore, get her for me to wife." Upon his father and mother starting some objections, he did not say, I will make use of the power lodged in my own hands to obtain her, but repeated, "Get her for me, for she pleaseth me well." Had it been a custom for their young men in these days to have courted for themselves, it is highly probable, that, on their first objection, he would have applied to Delilah in person, instead of applying again to his father and mother after a refusal. Nor was his application to his parents, for their advice and consent only, otherwise he would not have said, Get her for me, but allow me to get her for myself.

FROM the ages we have now been delineating, where the sacred records have
afforded.

afforded us these few hints concerning courtship, we have scarcely any thing more on the subject, till we come to the history of the Greeks. Among the ancient inhabitants of the East, women were so little seen by the men, that they had but few opportunities of inspiring them with that regard and sentimental feeling which we moderns denominate love, and which cannot properly arise from a transient glance. When they were accidentally seen, they only raised that animal appetite, which naturally rages so strongly where it is inflamed by the climate, and whetted by a thousand obstacles, and which, in such circumstances, scarcely has any choice in its object: hence all the obliging offices of gallantry, and the tender sensations of courtship, were in their circumstances, entirely unknown; and as marriage was for the most part an act of bargain and sale, where the woman, in consideration of a price paid for her to her relations, was made a slave to her husband, the men did not study to please, but to command and enjoy.

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Love
among
the an-
cients not
a senti-
mental
feeling.

ALTHOUGH scarcely any of the males of brute animals will fight with their females

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 Fighting  
 to obtain  
 a bride,  
 an early  
 method  
 of court-  
 ship.

in order to force them to their embrace, yet all of them, even the most weak and timid, will exert every nerve in order to drive away or destroy a successful rival. Whether this is properly the passion of revenge, or of self-love, is not our province here to enquire; we only observe, that it seems to be a principle so universally diffused through animated nature, and so peculiarly ingrafted in man, that the history of all ages bears the most ample testimony of its existence.

DURING the rude and uncultivated state of society in the early ages, property was hardly to be gained but by fighting to acquire, or kept but by fighting to maintain it; and a woman being considered as property, it was no uncommon mode of courtship, when there was a plurality of lovers, to fight for the possession of her also. As society began to improve, and fighting became less fashionable, this barbarity declined, and, instead of a lover being obliged to fight all his rivals before he could get possession of his mistress, it became the custom for the competitors, to give a public testimony of their powers and qualifications, in the games and spectacles

instituted

instituted on purpose to contend for her; a custom, which, as we shall have occasion to see afterwards, continued long to govern the manners of uncivilized nations; and in compliance with which, it was common for kings and other great people, when they had a daughter to dispose of, to give notice to all such young men of quality, as designed to be competitors, at such a time to repair to their courts and castles, in order to show their skill and dexterity in exercises and in arms; and that the prize of beauty would be awarded to him who should excell all the others. But as this method was frequently productive of feuds and animosities, which were handed down from one generation to another, treaties of marriage by bargain and sale, and agreed to by the relations of the parties, marked the further progress of civil society. Many revolving ages saw the social partners of our joys and sorrows trafficked for in this cool and dispassionate manner; many parts of the world, yet strangers to friendship and to love, still retain the despicable method; and it is only where the joys of liberty and of freedom shed their benign influence, that courtship is an act of inclination and of choice, ending

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in the joining together the hearts as well as hands of the contracting parties.

Courtship  
of the  
Greeks.

WHAT we have now observed concerning the manner of courtship, was too much the case with the Greeks. In the earlier periods of their history, their love, if we may call it so, was only animal appetite, so little restrained either by cultivation of manners, or precepts of morality, that they eagerly seized almost every opportunity that offered, to satisfy that appetite by force; and revenged themselves by murder, upon every one who endeavoured to obstruct the infamous design. Even when they became a more civilized people, their method of making love was more directed to decoy the fair sex into a compliance with their wishes by charms and philtres, than to win them by the nameless assiduities and good offices of a lover.

As the two sexes in Greece had but little communication with each other, and a lover was seldom favoured with an opportunity of telling his passion to his mistress, he used to discover it by inscribing her name on the walls of his house, on the bark of the trees  
of

of a public walk, or the leaves of his books. It was customary for him also to deck the door of the house where his fair one lived with flowers and garlands, to make libations of wine before it, and sprinkle the entrance with the same liquor, in the manner that was practised at the temple of Cupid. Garlands were of great use among the Greeks, in the affairs of love. When a man untied his garland, it was a declaration of his having been subdued by that passion. When a woman composed a garland, it was a tacit confession of the same thing; and though we are not informed of it, we may presume that both sexes had methods of discovering by those garlands, not only that they were in love, but the object also upon whom it was directed.

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SUCH were the common methods of discovering the passion of love, the methods of prosecuting it were still more extraordinary, and less reconcilable to civilization and good principles. When a Grecian swain found it difficult to obtain the affection of his mistress, he did not endeavour to become more engaging in his manners and person, he did not lavish his fortune in presents, or grow

Greeks  
used phil-  
tres and  
inchant-  
ments to  
excite  
love.

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grow more obliging and assiduous in his addreses, but immediately had recourse to incantations and philtres. In composing and dispensing the last of which, the women of Thessaly were reckoned the most famous. These compositions were given by the women to the men, as well as by the men to the women, and were generally so violent in their operation, as for some time to deprive the person who took them of sense, and not uncommonly of life. When those failed, they roasted an image of wax before the fire, representing the object of their affection, and as this became warm, they flattered themselves that the person represented by it would be proportionally warmed with love. When a lover could obtain any thing belonging to his mistress, he imagined it of singular advantage, and deposited it in the earth beneath the threshold of her door. Besides these, they had a variety of other methods equally ridiculous and unavailing, and of which it would be trifling to give a minute detail; we shall therefore just take notice as we go along, that such of either sex as believed themselves seduced into love by the power of philtres and charms, commonly had recourse to the same methods to disengage



disengage themselves, and break the force of those enchantments, which they supposed operated involuntarily on their inclinations. Thus the old women of Greece, like the lawyers of modern times, were employed to defeat the schemes and operations of each other, and like them too, it is presumable, laughed in their sleeves, while they hugged the gains that arose from vulgar credulity.

IN this manner were the affairs of love and gallantry carried on among the Greeks, but we have great reason to apprehend that this was the manner in which unlawful amours only were conducted, for the Greek women, as we have already seen, had not a power of refusing such matches as were provided for them by their fathers and guardians; and consequently a lover who could secure these on his side, was always sure of obtaining the person of his mistress; nor does the complexion of the times, give us any reason to suppose that he was solicitous about her esteem and affection. This being the case, courtship between the parties themselves could have little existence; and the methods we have now described, with a variety of others too tedious to mention, were

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were probably these by which they courted the unwary female to her shame and disgrace, and not those by which they bartered for that superior slave which they called a wife.

Courtship  
of the  
Romans.

THE Romans, who borrowed most of their customs from the Greeks, also followed them in that of endeavouring to conciliate love by the power of philtres and charms; a fact of which we have not the least room to doubt, as there are in Virgil and some other of the Latin poets so many instances that prove it. But it depends not altogether on the testimony of the poets; Plutarch tells us, that Lucullus, a Roman general, lost his senses, by a love-potion\*; and Caius Caligula, according to Suetonius, was thrown into a fit of madness by one which was given him by his wife Cæsonia; Lucretius too, according to some authors, fell a sacrifice to the same abominable custom. The Romans,

\* As the notion of love potions and powders is at this day not altogether eradicated, we take this opportunity of assuring our readers, that there is no potion, powder, or medicine known to mankind, that has any specific power of raising or determining the affections to any certain object, and that all pretensions to such are not only vain and illusive, but illegal, and to the last degree dangerous.

like the Greeks, made use of these methods mostly in their affairs of gallantry and unlawful love; but in what manner they addressed themselves to a lady they intended to marry has not been handed down to us, the reason we suppose is, that little or no courtship was practised among them. Women had no disposing power of themselves, to what purpose was it then to apply to them for their consent? They were under perpetual guardianship, and the guardian having the sole power of disposing of them, it was only necessary to apply to him. In the Roman authors, we frequently read of a father, a brother, or a guardian, giving his daughter, his sister, or his ward, in marriage, but we do not recollect one single instance of being told that the intended bridegroom applied to the lady for her consent; a circumstance the more extraordinary, as women in the decline of the Roman empire had arisen to a dignity, and even to a freedom, hardly equalled in modern Europe.

THOUGH wives were not purchased among the Celtes, Gauls, Germans, and neighbouring nations of the North as they

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Courtship
of the
ancient
inhabi-
tants of
the North.

are in the East, they were nevertheless a kind of slaves to their husbands; but this slavery was become so familiar by custom, that the women neither lost their dignity by submitting, nor the men their regard by subjecting them to it; and as they often received portions with their wives, and had so much veneration for the sex in general, we will be the less surpris'd to find, that in courtship they behaved with a spirit of gallantry, and shewed a degree of sentiment to which the Greeks and Romans, who called them Barbarians, never arrived. Not contented with getting possession of the person of his mistress, a northern lover could not be satisfied without the sincere affection of her heart, nor was his mistress ever to be gained but by such methods as plainly indicated to her, the tenderest attachment from the most deserving man.

THE ancient Scandinavian women were chaste, proud, and emulous of glory, being constantly taught to despise those men who spent their youth in peaceful obscurity, they were not to be courted but by the most assiduous attendance, seconded by such warlike achievements as the custom of the country had

had rendered necessary to make a man deserving of his mistress. On these accounts, we frequently find, a lover accosting the object of his passion by a minute and circumstantial detail of all his exploits, and all his accomplishments. King Regner Lodbrog, in a beautiful ode composed by himself, in memory of the deeds of his former days, gives a strong proof of this.

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“ WE fought with swords,” said he, “ that
 “ day wherein I saw ten thousand of my foes
 “ rolling in the dust near a promontory of
 “ England. A dew of blood distilled from
 “ our swords, the arrows which flew in search
 “ of the helmets, bellowed through the air.
 “ The pleasure of that day, was equal to
 “ that of clasping a fair virgin in my arms.

“ WE fought with swords: a young man
 “ should march early to the conflict of arms,
 “ man should attack man, or bravely resist
 “ him; in this hath always consisted the nobility
 “ of the warrior. He who aspires to
 “ the love of his mistress, ought to be dauntless
 “ in the clash of swords.

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“ We fought with fwords in fifty and one
 “ battles under my floating banners. From
 “ my early youth I have learned to dye the
 “ steel of my lance with blood, but it is
 “ time to cease. Odin hath sent his god-
 “ desles to conduct me to his palace, I am
 “ going to be placed on the highest seat,
 “ there to quaff goblets of beer with the
 “ gods; the hours of my life are rolled
 “ away.”

SUCH, and many of the same kind, are the exploits sung by king Regner. In another ode of a later date, composed by Harold the valiant, we find an enumeration of his exploits and accomplishments joined together, in order to give his mistress a favourable idea of him, but from the chorus of his song we learn that he did not succeed.

“ My ships have made the tour of Sicily;
 “ there were we all magnificent and splen-
 “ did; my brown vessel, full of mariners,
 “ rapidly rowed to the utmost of my wishes;
 “ wholly taken up with war, I thought my
 “ course would never slacken, and yet a
 “ Russian maiden scorns me.

“ IN

“ IN my youth I fought with the people
 “ of Drontheim, their troops exceeded ours
 “ in number. It was a terrible conflict, I left
 “ their young king dead on the field, and
 “ yet a Russian maiden scorns me.

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“ ONE day, we were but sixteen in a ves-
 “ sel, a storm arose and swelled the sea, it
 “ filled the loaded ship, but we diligently
 “ cleared it out; thence I formed hopes of
 “ the happiest success, and yet a Russian
 “ maiden scorns me.

“ I KNOW how to perform eight exerci-
 “ ses, I fight valiantly, I sit firmly on horse-
 “ back, I am inured to swimming, I know
 “ how to run along the scates, I dart the
 “ lance, and am skilful at the oar, and yet
 “ a Russian maiden scorns me.

“ CAN she deny, that young and lovely
 “ maiden, that on the day, when posted
 “ near a city in the southern land, I joined
 “ battle, that then I valiantly handled my
 “ arms, and left behind me lasting monu-
 “ ments of my exploits, and yet a Russian
 “ maiden scorns me,

“ I WAS

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“ I WAS born in the high country of
“ Norway, where the inhabitants handle
“ their bows so well; but I preferred guid-
“ ing my ships, the dread of peasants, among
“ the rocks of the ocean, and far from the
“ habitation of men. I have run through
“ all the seas with my vessels, and yet a
“ Russian maiden scorns me.”

They also
used
charms
and in-
cantations

BESIDES these methods of courting, or
aspiring to the good graces of the fair, by
arms and by arts, the ancient Northerns had
several others, and among these it would
seem that charms or incantations were rec-
koned not the least powerful. Odin, who
first taught them their mythology, and
whom they afterwards worshipped as their
supreme deity, says, in one of his discourses:

“ IF I aspire to the love and the favour
“ of the chastest virgin, I can bend the
“ mind of the snowy armed maiden, and
“ make her yield wholly to my desires.

“ I KNOW a secret which I will never
“ lose, it is to render myself always beloved
“ of my mistrefs.

“ BUT

“ BUT I know one which I will never
 “ impart to any female, except my own
 “ sister, or to her whom I hold in my arms.
 “ Whatever is known only to one’s self is
 “ always of great value.”

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IN the *Hava-Maal*, or sublime discourses of Odin, we have some sketches of directions how to proceed in courtship, so as to be successful without the assistance of any charm or secret.---“ He who would make him
 “ self beloved of a maiden, must entertain
 “ her with fine discourses, and offer her en-
 “ gaging presents; he must also incessantly
 “ praise her beauty.---It requires good sense
 “ to be a skilful lover.---If you would bend
 “ your mistress to your passion, you must
 “ only go by night to see her; when a thing
 “ is known to a third person it never suc-
 “ ceeds.”

Directi-
ons how
to court
with suc-
cess.

THE young women of the nations we are considering, not relying upon what fame had reported concerning the acquisitions of their lovers, frequently desired to be themselves the witnesses of these acquisitions, and the young men were not less eager in seizing every opportunity to gratify their desires.

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desires. This is abundantly proved by an anecdote in the history of Charles and Grymer, two kings of Sweden. “Grymer, a youth early distinguished in arms, who well knew how to dye his sword in the blood of his enemies, to run over the craggy mountains, to wrestle, to play at chess, trace the motions of the stars, and throw far from him heavy weights, frequently shewed his skill in the chamber of the damsels, *before the king’s lovely daughter*; desirous of acquiring her regard, he displayed his dexterity in handling his weapons, and the knowledge he had attained in the sciences he had learned; at length he ventured to make this demand: “Wilt thou, O fair princess, if I may obtain the king’s consent, accept of me for a husband? To which she prudently replied, I must not make that choice myself, but go thou and offer the same proposal to my father. The sequel of this story informs us, that Grymer accordingly made his proposal to the king, who answered him in a rage, that though he had learned indeed to handle his arms, yet as he had never gained a signal victory, nor given a banquet to the beasts of the field, he had

no

no pretensions to his daughter, and concluded by pointing out to him, in a neighbouring kingdom, a hero renowned in arms, whom, if he could conquer, the princess should be given him: that on waiting on the princess to tell her what had passed, she was greatly agitated, and felt in the most sensible manner for the safety of her lover, whom she was afraid her father had devoted to death for his presumption; that she provided him with a suit of impenetrable armour and a trusty sword, with which he went, and having slain his adversary, and most part of his warriors, returned victorious, and received her as the reward of his valour. Singular as this method of obtaining a fair lady by a price paid in blood may appear, it was not peculiar to the northerns. We have already taken notice of the price which David paid for the daughter of Saul, and shall add, that among the Saccæ, a people of ancient Scythia, a custom something of this kind, but still more extraordinary, obtained. Every young man who made his addresses to a lady was obliged to engage her in single combat; if he vanquished, he led her off in triumph, and became her husband and sovereign; if he was conquered, she led him off in the

Singular
method of
courtship.

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same manner, and made him her husband and her slave. In the island of Bornea, the most successful method of courting is, for the lover to present his mistress with the heads of some enemies, and the greater the number of heads, the more likely he is to succeed in his suit.

FROM the preceding observations, it appears, that the ancient northerns placed their principal felicity in the enjoyments of courtship and love, as they compared even the pleasures of vanquishing their enemies to this last, as to the highest standard of pleasure. It likewise appears, that, instigated by sentiment, and actuated by freedom, every lover made application first to the object of his wishes, to know whether he would be agreeable to her, before he would proceed to solicit the consent of parents or relations,

Manner
of refus-
ing their
lovers.

As nothing could be more humble and complaisant than the men when they presented their addresses to the fair, so nothing could be more haughty or determined than the answers and behaviour of such ladies as did not approve of their suitors. Gida, the daughter of a rich Norwegian lord, when
courted



courted by Harald Harfagre, sternly answered, that if he aspired to merit her love, he must signalize himself by exploits of a more extraordinary nature than any he had yet performed. Nor was such a reception peculiar to her, it was the custom of the times, and the complexion of these times greatly contributed to render such a custom necessary; for besides the personal safety of a wife, depending so much on the prowess of the man she married, valour was the only road to riches, to honours, and even to subsistence, which frequently depended in a great measure upon the spoils taken in the excursions of war. But the haughty behaviour of the ladies was not entirely confined to words. It is supposed, though we do not venture to affirm it, that when a suitor had gone through the exercise of his arms before them, and when displeased with his performance, they wanted to put a negative upon his wishes, instead of a verbal reply, they sometimes arose hastily, snatched the arms from his hands, and shewed him that they could handle them with much more dexterity than himself; a reproof which not only mortified all his vanity, but imposed eternal silence on his pretensions to love.



THE descendants of the people we have been now describing, long after they had plundered and repeopled the greatest part of Europe, retained nearly the same ideas of love, and practised the same methods in declaring it, that they had imbibed from their ancestors. "Love," says William of Montagnogout, "engages to the most amiable conduct: Love inspires the greatest actions: Love has no will but that of the object beloved, nor seeks any thing but what will augment her glory. You cannot love, nor ought to be beloved, if you ask any thing that virtue condemns; never did I form a wish that could wound the heart of my beloved, nor delight in a pleasure that was inconsistent with her delicacy." Such were the tender, such the honourable sentiments that sprung from chivalry, an institution which obliged the lover to devote himself to the will of his mistress. "It is the duty of a lover," says one of the troubadours, "to ask humbly what he wishes, and the right of the mistress to command what he desires; which the lover by the laws of gallantry is obliged to execute like the orders of a sovereign." These orders we have already seen were generally to perform

form some feats of military valour, a custom which continued to the time that military expeditions gave way to tilts and tournaments, where the mistress still commanded the lover to appear, and where he shewed himself not less anxious of victory and renown, than in the real field of blood.

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*The same Subject continued.*CHAP.
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FROM this account of the courtship of the ancient northerns, it plainly appears that they were, in some respects, far advanced beyond the savage barbarity of many nations now existing; among whom marriages are commonly contracted with little previous attachment, and as little regard to the mutual inclination of the parties for each other. Savages, in general, not being determined to marry from any attachment to a particular woman; but because they find that state necessary to their comfortable subsistence, and conformable to the fashion of their country, are not solicitous who shall be their wives; and, therefore, commonly leave the choice of them to their parents and relations; a method which excludes from their system, all the joys, and all the pains of courtship. But as there are some savages who deviate from this custom, we shall give a short account of the manner in which they address the females, whom they have selected as the objects of their love.

THE

THE method of asking in courtship, as well as that of refusing, among some of the tribes of American Indians, is the most simple that can possibly be devised. When the lover goes to visit his mistress, he only begs leave, by signs, to enter her hut; having obtained it, he goes in, and sits down by her in the most respectful silence; if she suffers him to remain there without interruption, her doing so is consenting to his suit; and they go to bed together without further ceremony: but if the lover has any thing given him to eat and drink, it is a refusal; though the woman is obliged to sit by him till he has finished his repast; after which he retires in silence. In Canada, courtship is not carried on with that coy reserve, and seeming secrecy, which politeness has introduced among the inhabitants of civilized nations. When a man and woman meet, though they never saw each other before, if he is captivated with her charms, he declares his passion in the plainest manner; and she, with the same honest simplicity, answers, Yes, or No, without further deliberation. That female reserve, that seeming reluctance to enter into the married state, observable in polite countries, is the work of art, and not of

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 Methods
of court-
ship a-
mong
some
tribes of
savages.

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of nature; the history of every uncultivated people amply proves this: it tells us, that their women not only speak with freedom the sentiments of their hearts, but even blush not to have these sentiments made as public as possible. The contract between Mahomet and his wife begins thus, “Where-
“ as, Cadhiga is in love with Mahomet, and
“ Mahomet with Cadhiga.” It was formerly a custom, among the Brazilians, that as soon as a man had slain an enemy, he had a right to court a bride; but that custom is now abolished, and the suitor is obliged to ask the consent of the girl’s parents; which he no sooner obtains, than he hastens to the bride, and forces her to his embrace. In Formosa, they differ so much from the simplicity of the Canadians, that it would be reckoned the greatest indecency in the man to declare, or in the woman to hear, a declaration of the passion of love. The lover is, therefore, obliged to depute his mother, sister, or some female relation; and from any of these the soft tale may be heard, without the least offence to delicacy.

SUCH are the customs which, among some savage nations, regulate the affairs of
courtship;

courtship; customs which shew, that, even in the most rude and uncultivated state, men are hardly more uniform in their ideas and actions, than when polished by civilization and society. The lower class of the people who inhabit Massachusetts Bay, have a remarkable method of courtship, which they perhaps borrowed the idea of from the native Americans. When a man falls in love with a woman, he first proposes his conditions to her parents, without whose consent no marriage in the colony can take place; if they approve of him, he repairs to their house in the evening, in order to make his court to the young woman. At their usual hour, the old people, and the rest of the family, go to bed, leaving the lovers together. Some time after, the lovers go to bed together also; but without stripping themselves naked, to avoid scandal. If they are pleased with each other, the bans are published, and they are married without delay. If not, they part, and never see one another any more; unless the woman should be with child; when the man is obliged to marry her, under pain of excommunication. This has a great resemblance to a custom used in some places by the savages, where a

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lover goes in the night to the hut of his mistress, steals silently in, lights a match at the fire, and cautiously approaches her bed, holding the match before him. If she suffer it to remain burning, it is a denial, and he must retire. If she blows it out, it is a sign of her approbation; and shews that she wishes the affair to be transacted in darkness and secrecy: he takes the hint, and immediately lays himself down by her side.

Women
of Pensyl-
vania car-
ry away
their lo-
vers to a
magistrate
to be
married.

BEFORE we take leave of the European colonies in America, another singularity in the behaviour of Pennsylvania lovers deserves to be mentioned, as it shews that their women have not even that degree of delicacy, which we have just now seen them possessed of in savage life. When two Pennsylvanian lovers meet with any remarkable opposition from their friends, they go off together on horseback; the woman riding before, and the man behind. In this situation they present themselves before a magistrate, to whom she declares, that she has run away with her lover, and has brought him there to be married. So solemn an avowal, the magistrate is not at liberty to reject, and he marries them accordingly.

It

It has long been a common observation among mankind, that love is the most fruitful source of invention; and that the imagination of a woman in love, is still more fruitful of invention and expedient than that of a man. Agreeably to this, we are told, that the women of the island of Amboyna, being closely watched on all occasions, and destitute of the art of writing; by which, in other places, the sentiments are conveyed at any distance, have methods of making known their inclinations to their lovers, and of fixing assignations with them, by means of nosegays, and plates of fruit so disposed, as to convey their sentiments in the most explicit manner: by these means their courtship is generally carried on, and by altering the disposition of the symbols made use of, they contrive to signify their refusal, with the same explicitness as their approbation; but this is not a practice peculiar to Amboyna, it is also used by the young women of Tripoli and Algiers. In the gardens, at these places, are constantly employed a number of christian slaves; when the ladies who have a liberty of walking in these gardens, take a fancy for any of them, they explain themselves by arranging the flower-pots in

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a certain order; by wearing nosegays particularly constructed; the slaves return their answer in the same manner; and thus a correspondence is carried on scarcely less explicit than if it were done by writing. Nor is their art confined to this single method, they have certain flowers that denote hope, despair, opportunity, &c.; and by means of these they make their inclinations known to each other; but they carry it still farther; and by placing flowers in such a manner, as the initial letters of their names shall form such words and sentences as they want to make use of, they can give and return to each other the completest information,

We shall see afterward, when we come to treat of the matrimonial compact, that in some places, the ceremony of marriage consists in tying the garments of the young couple together, as an emblem of that union which ought to bind their affections and interests. This ceremony has afforded a hint for lovers to explain their passion to their mistresses, in the most intelligible manner, without the help of speech, or the possibility of offending the nicest delicacy. A lover in those countries, who is too modest
to

to declare himself, seizes the first opportunity he can find, of sitting down by his mistress, and tying his garment to her's, in the manner that is practised in the ceremony of marriage. If she permits him to finish the knot, without interruption, and does not soon after cut or loose it, she thereby gives her consent. If she looses it, he may tye it again on some other occasion, when she may prove more propitious, but if she cut it, his hopes are blasted for ever.

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BOTH these last-mentioned customs are peculiar to the East; and they are almost the only ones we can find in these extensive regions, concerning courtship, that are worth relating; for where the two sexes are denied all communication with each other, it is impossible there should be any courtship; and where the venal bride is bought from her still more venal parents, to be the slave, and not the companion, of her husband; neither are possessed of the feelings necessary for that delicately sentimental prelude of the social state of wedlock.

THE delicacy of a Lapland lady, which is not in the least hurt by being drunk as often

Lapland
courtship,
how managed.

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often as she can procure liquor, would be wounded in the most sensible manner, should she deign at first to listen to the declaration of a lover. He is therefore obliged to employ a match-maker to speak for him. This match-maker must never go empty-handed; and of all other presents, that which most infalliably secures him a favourable reception, is brandy. Having, by the eloquence of this favourable liquor, gained leave to bring the lover along with him, who, together with his father or other nearest male relation, being arrived at the house where the lady resides, the father and match-maker are invited to go in, but the lover must wait patiently at the door till further solicited. The parties, in the mean time, open their suit to the other ladies of the family, not forgetting to employ their irresistible advocate brandy, a liberal distribution of which is reckoned the strongest proof of the lover's affection. When they are all tolerably warmed, and caution begins to give place to intoxication, the lover is brought into the house, pays his compliments to the family, and is desired to partake of their cheer, though at this interview seldom indulged with a sight of his mistress; but if he

he is, he salutes her, and offers her presents of rein-deer skins, tongues, &c.; all which while surrounded with her friends, she pretends to refuse; but, at the same time giving her swain a signal to go out, she soon steals after him, and is no more that bashful creature she affected to appear in company. He now solicits for the completion of his wishes. If she is silent, it is construed into consent. But if she throws his presents on the ground with disdain, the match is broke off for ever.

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It is generally observed, that women enter into matrimony with more willingness, and less anxious solicitude, than men, for which many reasons naturally suggest themselves to the intelligent reader. The women of Greenland are, however, in many cases, an exception to this general rule. A Greenlander, having fixed his affection, acquaints his parents with it; they acquaint the parents of the girl; upon which two female negociators are sent to her, who, lest they should shock her delicacy, do not enter directly on the subject of their embassy, but launch out in praises of the lover they mean to recommend, of his hut, of his furniture, and whatever else belongs

Aversion  
of the  
Greenland  
women to  
marriage.

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belongs to him, dwelling most particularly on his *dexterity* in catching of seals. She, really affronted, or pretending to be so, runs away, tearing the ringlets of her hair as she retires; after which the two females, having obtained a tacit consent from her parents, search for her, and, on discovering her lurking-place, drag her by force to the hut of her lover, and there leave her. For some days she sits with dishevelled hair, silent and dejected, refusing every kind of sustenance, and at last, if kind intreaties cannot prevail upon her, is compelled by force, and even by blows, to complete the marriage. It sometimes happens, that when the female match-makers arrive to propose a lover to a Greenland young woman, she either faints, or escapes to the uninhabited mountains, where she remains till she is discovered and carried back by her relations, or is forced to return by hunger and cold. In both which cases, she previously cuts off her hair. A most unalterable declaration that she is determined never to marry.

THIS peculiar disposition of the Greenland women is not nature. Her dictates are every where nearly the same. It is  
the

the horror which arises at the slavish and dependent state of the wives of that country, and the still more abject and deserted state of its widows. For the wives, besides being obliged to do every servile office, are frequently subjected to the merciless correction of their husbands. The widows, when they have no longer a husband to hunt and fish for them, are destitute of every resource and frequently perish of hunger. Hence matrimony, which in most places makes the condition of women more independent and comfortable, among them renders it truly wretched; and hence they enter into it with so much reluctance and regret.

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IN Spain, the women had formerly no voice in disposing of themselves in matrimony. But as the empire of common sense began to extend itself, they began to claim a privilege, at least of being consulted in the choice of the partners of their lives. Many fathers and guardians, hurt by this female innovation, and puffed up with Spanish pride, still insisted on forcing their daughters to marry according to their pleasure, by means of duennas, locks, hunger, and even sometimes, of poison and daggers.

Courtship  
in Spain.

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But as nature will revolt against every species of oppression and injustice, the ladies have for sometime begun to assert their own rights. The authority of fathers and guardians begins to decline, and lovers find themselves obliged to apply to the affections of the fair, as well as to the pride and avarice of their relations. As women of fashion are, however, seldom allowed to go abroad, and never to receive male visitors at home, unless with the consent of parents, or by the contrivance of a duenna, this application is commonly made in a manner almost peculiar to the Spaniards themselves. The gallant composes some love sonnets, as expressive as he can, not only of the situation of his heart, but of every particular circumstance between him and the lady, not forgetting to lard them every here and there with the most extravagant encomiums on her beauty and merit. These he sings in the night below her window, accompanied with his lute, or sometimes with a whole band of music. The more piercingly cold the air, the more the lady's heart is supposed to be thawed with the patient sufferance of her lover, who, from night to night, frequently continues this exercise for many hours,  
heaving

heaving the deepest sighs, and casting the most piteous looks toward the window; at which, if his goddess at last deigns to appear, and drop him a curtsy, he is superlatively paid for all his watching; but if she blesses him with a smile, he is ready to run distracted.

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IN most of the countries we have hitherto mentioned, love is carried on without sentiment or feeling: in Spain it is quite the reverse. A Spanish lover hardly thinks, speaks, or even dreams, of any thing but his mistress. When he speaks to her, it is with the utmost respect and deference. When he speaks of her, it is in the most hyperbolically romantic style; and when he approaches her, you would suppose him to be approaching a divinity. But all this deference to her *godship*, all this patient sufferance under her window, is not enough; and as none but the brave can deserve the fair, he is constantly ready, not only to fight all her enemies, and his own rivals, but to seek every opportunity of signalizing his courage, that he may shew himself able to protect her. Among all these opportunities, none are so eagerly courted as fighting with bulls; a

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barbarous amusement, for which Spain is remarkable; where the ladies sit as spectators, while the cavaliers encounter those furious animals, previously exasperated, and where, according to the sarcastic phrase of Butler,

“ — he obtains the noblest spouse,
“ Who widows greatest herds of cows.”

SOME of the human passions are so nearly allied to each other, that the transition from this to that is hardly perceptible, and seems as easy and natural as it is to step from the threshold into the house. Of this kind is friendship with woman, which has been called sister to love; and we may add, that pity for a woman, who is tolerably handsome and deserving, is more than sister to love. The Spaniards, considering the effects of pity on the tender and compassionate natures of women, endeavour, instead of attaching them by pleasure, as in other countries, to secure them by exciting their compassion, through every part of the courtship we have now related. But they do it still more remarkably in a custom, which they practised some time ago at Madrid,

Madrid, and in other parts of Spain. CHAP.
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A company of people, who called themselves disciplinants, or whippers, partly instigated by superstition, and partly by love, paraded the streets every Good-Friday, attended by all the religious orders, several of the courts of judicature, all the companies of trades, and sometimes the king and all his court. The whippers were arrayed in long caps in the form of a sugar-loaf, white gloves, shoes of the same colour, and waistcoats, the sleeves of which were tied with ribbons of such colours as they thought most agreeable to the fancy of the ladies they adored. In their hands were whips made of small cords, to the ends of which were cemented little bits of wax stuck with pieces of broken glass; with these they whipped themselves as they went along, and he who shewed the least mercy to his carcase, was sure of the greatest pity from his dulcinea. When they happened to meet a handsome woman in the street, some one of them took care to whip himself, so as to make his blood spurt upon her; an honour for which she never failed humbly to thank him. When any of them came opposite to the window of his mistress, he began to lay
upon

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upon himself with redoubled fury, while she, from her balcony, looked complacently on the horrid scene, and knowing it was acted in honour of her charms, thought herself greatly obliged to her lover, and seldom failed to reward him accordingly.

Singular
methods
of court-
ship at
Constanti-
nople.

NOT less singular, and much of the same nature, is a method of courtship which Lady Montague saw at a procession in Constantinople, when the grand Seignior was going out to take the command of an army. “The rear,” says she, “was closed by the
“volunteers, who came to beg the honour
“of dying in his service; they were all
“naked to the middle, some had their
“arms pierced through with arrows left
“sticking in them, others had them sticking
“in their heads, the blood trickled down
“their faces; some flashed their arms with
“sharp knives, making the blood spring out
“on the bystanders; and this is looked on as
“an expression of their zeal for glory. And
“I am told, that some make use of it to ad-
“vance their love; and when they come
“near the window where their mistress
“stands, all the women being veiled to see
“this spectacle, they stick another arrow
“for

“ for her sake, who gives some sign of ap-
 “ probation and encouragement to this kind
 “ of gallantry.”

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WE cannot help condemning customs so barbarous ; but while we condemn them, we have the strongest hopes that they no longer exist ; while in Scotland, one of a somewhat familiar nature, scarcely less ridiculous, or less dangerous, is not yet obliterated. At a concert annually held in Edinburgh, on St. Cecilia's day, most of the celebrated beauties are assembled. When the concert is ended, their adorers retire to a tavern, when he that can drink the largest quantity to the health of his mistress, according to the phrase they make use of, *saves her*, and dubs her a public toast for the ensuing year ; while the hapless fair, who is beloved by one of a more irritable system and less capacious stomach, according to the same cant, is *damned*, and degraded by the bucks from being ranked among the number of beauties. In tracing general principles, one often meets with many discordant and contradictory facts. It is a general rule of nature, that when the male makes love to the female, he endeavours to put himself into
 the

Singular
method in
Scotland.

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the most agreeable postures and attitudes, and to gain her affection by shewing, if we may be allowed the expression, his best side, and most agreeable accomplishments. But the instances we have now related are exceptions to this general law; they tend, however, to establish a truth, which every attentive person must have observed, that the actions of men are more the result of accident and custom, than of fixed and permanent principles.

Strictures
on the
foregoing
methods.

AMONG the various methods used by our ancestors, of introducing themselves into the good graces of the fair, fighting was far from being the least common; and several tolerably good reasons may be assigned why this should so successfully accomplish its purpose. But though fighting a rival or an enemy, may promote the suit of a lover, nothing seems less natural than endeavouring to engage the female heart by unavailing cruelty to one's own flesh. This has in itself no merit, nor distinguishes the man for any thing but a wrong head, and an insensibility of nerves. Whoever, therefore, gets drunk, or commits an outrage upon himself for the sake of his mistress, should be trusted by the

the women with caution, as the same causes which prompted him to this folly, may prompt him to others in which his own person is less likely to suffer.

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BEFORE we take our leave of the Spaniards, we must do them the justice to say, that though their ideas of the ladies, and their manner of addressing them, are strongly tinged with the wild and the romantic, they are at the same time directed by an honour and fidelity, scarcely to be found among any other people. In Italy, the manner of courtship, so far as it relates to serenading, nearly resembles that of Spain; but the Italian goes a step farther than the Spaniard; he endeavours to blockade the house where his fair one lives, so as to prevent the entrance of any rival; if he marries the lady who cost him all this trouble and attendance, he shuts her up for life; if not, she becomes the object of his eternal hatred, and he too frequently endeavours to revenge by poison the success of his happier rival. In one circumstance relating to courtship, the Italians are said to be particular; they protract the time of it as long as possible,

Time of
courtship
the most
pleasant
part of
life.

CHAP. well knowing, that even with all the little
XXIV. ills attending it, a period thus employed is
one of the sweetest of human life.

To the difference of the climate of one country from another, philosophers have generally attributed the different disposition of the inhabitants. But France and Spain are kingdoms bordering on each other, and yet nothing can be more dissimilar than a Frenchman and a Spaniard in affairs of love. A French lover, with the word sentiment perpetually in his mouth, seems by every action, to have excluded it from his heart. He places his whole confidence in his exterior air and appearance. He dresses for his mistress, dances for her, flutters constantly about her, helps her to lay on her rouge, and place her patches; attends her round the whole circle of amusements chatters to her perpetually, whistles and sings, and plays the fool with her; whatever be his station, every thing gaudy and glittering within the sphere of it, is called in to his assistance, particularly splendid carriages and tawdry liveries; but if, by the help of all these, he cannot make an impression on the
fair

fair one's heart, it costs him nothing at last CHAP.
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but a few shrugs of his shoulders, two or three silly exclamations, and as many stanzas of some satirical song against her; and as it is impossible for a Frenchman to live without an amour, he immediately betakes himself to another.

Among people of fashion in France, courtship begins to be totally annihilated, and matches made by parents and guardians are become so common, that a bride and bridegroom not unfrequently meet together for the second time on the day of their marriage. In a country where complaisance and form seem so indispensable, it may appear extraordinary, that a few weeks at least should not be allowed a young couple to gain the affections of each other, and to enable them to judge whether their tempers were formed for their mutual happiness. But this delay is commonly thought unnecessary by the prudent parents, whose views extend no farther than interest and convenience. In many countries, to be married in this manner would be reckoned the greatest of misfortunes. In France, it is little regarded, as in the fashionable

L 1 2 world

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world few people are greater strangers to, or more indifferent about, each other, than husband and wife; and any appearance of fondness between them, or their being seen frequently together, would infallibly make them forfeit the reputation of the *ton*, and be laughed at by all polite company. On this account, nothing is more common than to be acquainted with a lady, without knowing her husband, or visiting the husband, without ever seeing his wife.

AN historian, who has read that the French have been, time immemorial, governed by their women, and a traveller, who has seen the attention that every one pays to them, will be apt to reckon all we have now said as falsehood and misrepresentation. But to the first, we would recommend to consider, that the women, which have commonly governed France, have been the mistresses of their kings or other great men, who, trained up in every alluring mode of their profession, have become artful beyond conception, in insinuating themselves by all the avenues that lead to the male heart. The second, we would wish to consider, that this constant attention is more the effect of fashion

fashion and custom than of sentiment or regard: and that even the frequent duels which in France are fought on account of women, are not a proof of the superior love or esteem of the men for that sex, nor undertaken to defend their virtue or reputation; they are only a mode of compliance with what is falsely called politeness, and of supporting what is falsely esteemed honour.

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FORMERLY, while the manners introduced by the spirit of chivalry were not quite evaporated among the French, before the too great progress of politeness had destroyed the virtues of honest simplicity, and the tongue had learned by rote, to contradict the sentiments of the heart; the behaviour of this people, though mixed with romantic extravagance, was replete with feeling and sentiment. During the regency of Anne of Austria, fighting and religion were the most successful ways by which a lover could recommend himself to his mistress; the bombastic verses of the Duke of Rochefoucault shew what a lover then promised with his sword*; and the number of women of rank

* To merit her heart, and to please her bright eyes,
I have fought against kings, and dare fight 'gainst the skies.

who

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who turned Carmelites, in compliance with the spirit of their gallants and of the times, point out what was effected by devotion; but as politeness began to push forward beyond the standard of nature, it dissipated not only all these romantic ideas, but also in time banished sentiment and affection, and left the French in their present situation---*creatures of art*. The eagerness, however, of the other European nations in copying their manners and customs is so great, that such as they now are, all their neighbours will probably in less than a few centuries be.

Freedom
of choice
only left
to the
poor,

As mankind advance in the principles of society, as interest, ambition, and some of the other sordid passions begin to occupy the mind, nature is thrust out. Nothing surely can be more natural than that love should direct in the choice of a partner for life, and that the parties contracting in wedlock, should enter into that compact with the mutual approbation of each other. This right of nature, however, begins to be wrested from her in every polite country. The poor are the only class who still retain the liberty of acting from inclination and from choice, while the rich, in proportion

as

as they rise in opulence and rank, sink in the exertion of the natural rights of mankind, and sacrifice their love at the shrine of interest or ambition.

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SUCH now begins to be the common practice in Britain; courtship, at least that kind of it which proceeds from mutual inclination and affection is, among the great, nearly annihilated, and the matrimonial bargain made between the relations and lawyers of the two families, with all the care and cunning that each party is master of, to advance its own interest by overreaching the other. Were we to descend to the middling and lower ranks of life, where freedom of mind still exists; were we to describe their various modes of addressing and endeavouring to render themselves agreeable to the fair, we should only relate what our readers are already well acquainted with; we shall therefore just observe, in general, that such is the power of love, that it frequently prompts even an Englishman to lay aside some part of his natural thoughtfulness, and appear more gay and sprightly in the presence of his mistress; that on other occasions, when he is doubtful of success,
it

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it adds to his natural peevishness and taciturnity, an air of melancholy and embarrassment, which exposes him to the laughter of all his acquaintance, and seldom or never contributes any thing to advance his suit. When a few singularities arising from manners and customs are excepted, in every other respect the courtship of all polished people is nearly the same, and consists chiefly in the lover's endeavouring, by every art, to make his person and temper appear as agreeable to his mistress as possible; to persuade her, that his circumstances are at least such as may enable him to indulge her in every thing becoming her station, and that his inclinations to do so, are not in the least to be doubted. These great points being gained, the lover has commonly little else left to do, but to enter into the possession of his hopes, unless where each party, urged by separate interests, proposes unreasonable conditions of settlement, which frequently break off a match where every other article has been agreed on.

Courtship
by fighting.

IN ancient times, heroes encountered one another to render themselves acceptable to the ladies they adored. Duels were fought
between

between private persons to determine which of them should be the successful lover: princes led their armies into the field, to fight with each other on the same account; and so rude were the manners, that a king when he fell in love, instead of endeavouring to gain the object by gentle and persuasive methods, frequently sent to demand her, by threatening fire and sword on a refusal. The Spaniards, a few centuries ago, as well as the cavaliers of many other nations, commenced knights-errant, and rode about the country fighting every thing that opposed them, for the honour of their mistresses. We have already seen, that in some countries, the fairest and most noble virgins were allotted as a reward to the greatest virtue; that in others they were basely sacrificed to the wretch who was able to give the highest price for them. But among the ancient Saxons, at Magdeburgh, they had an institution still more singular, the greatest beauties, with a sum of money as the portion of each, were at stated times, deposited in the hands of the magistrates, to be publicly fought for, and fell to the lot of those who were most famous at tilting.

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Conj-
ec-
tures on
the cause
of this
courtship.

THAT the soft and compassionate temper of woman, naturally averse to scenes of horror and of blood, should be most easily gained by him who has most distinguished himself in scenes of that nature, appears at first sight an inexplicable paradox; but the difficulty vanishes when we consider, that, in rude and barbarous times, the weakness of the sex made their property, and their beauty made their persons, a prey to every invader; and that it was only by sheltering themselves in the arms of the hero, that they could attain to any safety, or to any importance. Hence the hero naturally became the object of their ambition, and their gratitude for the protection of his power, obliterated the idea of his crimes, magnified all his virtues, and held him up as an object of love. But besides, in the times of general rapine and devastation, it was only valour and strength that could defend a man's property from being lawlessly carried away, and his family consequently ruined for want of subsistence; and it was only by valour and martial achievements that ambition could be gratified, that grandeur and power could be attained. When we survey all these reasons, our surprise that so many warriors

warriors in former times fought themselves into the arms of their mistresses, will be much abated.

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FOR several centuries previous to the restoration of learning, the highest ambition of a lady, was to obtain a valiant knight to declare himself her champion, and a celebrated troubadour to sing the praises of her beauty. She who had arrived at this flattering distinction, was the envy of her own sex, and the adoration of ours. Nor was she obliged by the etiquette of the times to dissemble the sentiments she entertained of her champion or her sonnetteer, she might, in consistency with the strictest virtue and the nicest delicacy, answer the protestations of the one, and the poems of the other, with a freedom which in our days would be reckoned the strongest symptoms of forwardness and indecency. Troubadours frequently sung the praises of beauty and of merit, from motives of love and esteem; and not less frequently to advance their own fortunes. They commonly travelled about among, and were entertained by, the rich, being for the most part needy adventurers, or prodigals who had spent their fortunes;

M m 2

they

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they therefore generally sung the praises of the princess at whose court, or baroness at whose castle, they were entertained; and in this case, regardless of beauty or merit, may literally be said to have sung for cake and pudding. When their figure was agreeable, when their wit was lively, by their constant attention to all the little offices of the most extravagant gallantry, they frequently corrupted the husband who fed them to sing the praises of his wife; and what is not a little extraordinary, so sacred was their character, that justice was commonly too feeble to reach them; and even the combined powers of jealousy and revenge, which prompt the soul to deeds of the most daring hardihood, were awed into submission by the veneration in which they were held by the folly of the times.

WE have seen in the course of this work, that women have been by authority exposed to sale, we have seen that they have, by order of the magistrates, been publicly fought for, and that, in the extensive regions of the East, which compose almost half the globe, they are bought by a husband as his ox or his ass, and in many respects
treated

treated by him worse than these animals, CHAP.
Such a treatment of the objects which na- XXIV.
ture has taught us to love, and politeness to
respect, excites our astonishment and indig-
nation, and we exult in the happier state of
our own country, when we consider it as not
degraded by any such instances of despotic
power, exercised over a sex which nature
meant us to cherish and defend. But our
exultation on this head is not perhaps so
well founded, as we imagine; the matrimo-
nial bargains every day concluded by all the
cunning of relations, and chicanery of law-
yers, are a proof that we not only sell the
fair sex, but dispose even of ourselves for
the sake of their fortunes. Such a spirit of
venality in either sex, is a strong symptom
of the approaching ruin of the people
among whom it is found. Let us remem-
ber that wherever the women are the
slaves of a despot, and that wherever the
men have become the slaves of women,
luxury and effeminacy have at last brought
them to ruin.

CHAP.

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*Of Matrimony.*CHAP.
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SOME regulation of the commerce between the sexes, or the joining of males and females together by mutual ties and obligations, in order to preserve the peace of society, and encourage population, seems either to have been an innate principle in the human mind, or to have arisen early from necessity; as we find it, in one shape or another, existing over all the habitable world: but nature only fitted the sexes for each other, while she left it to the laws of each country to institute the ceremonies of their junction.

The word
marriage
often
falsely
applied
by tra-
vellers,

ANTIQUARIANS, who have solicitously endeavoured to trace the manners and customs of past ages, and voyagers and travellers, who have depicted those of the present, have indiscriminately given the name of marriage to every legal or customary junction of the sexes, which they met with in the countries, whose records they have searched, or which they have visited in person;

person; and European readers, being ac-
 customed only to one kind of marriage,
 have generally annexed the same idea, which
 the word conveys in their own country, to
 the marriages of the people of all other na-
 tions. Marriage, however, is so far from
 being an institution, fixed by permanent and
 unalterable laws, that it has been continu-
 ally varying in every period, and in every
 country: and its present indissoluble nature
 among us, hardly bears the least resemblance
 to what it was among many of the ancients,
 or to what it is at present in several parts
 of the world.

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MANY of the most respectable authors
 of antiquity have related, that several na-
 tions, during their rude and barbarous state,
 had not any idea of matrimony, nor any
 regulation of the commerce between the
 sexes; if this is a fact, it is intimately con-
 nected with another; which is, that the
 dawnings of civilization no sooner began to
 appear, than these very people discovered
 the necessity of such a regulation, and
 carried it into execution, upon the best
 plans which their limited capacities were
 capable of inventing. And we hesitate not
 to

Some re-
 gulation
 of the
 commerce
 between
 the sexes
 necessary.

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to affirm, that, without it, there could be no safety for the individual. The natural progress of multiplication would be retarded, and anarchy and confusion would universally prevail among mankind.

Marriages
originally
simple in
their na-
ture.

PRESERVATION of the individual, and propagation of the species, as they are two of the great ends of our existence, are so intimately connected with our nature, that in a very early period, it must have been discovered, that preservation would be exceedingly precarious and uncertain, unless individuals appropriated to themselves the produce of their hunting, and certain parcels of ground, from whence the means of that preservation might be derived. And if men found that they could not draw their subsistence so conveniently from the ground, while it was in common; the same experience must have discovered to them, that propagation could not be so properly carried on, unless individuals of the two sexes were appropriated to each other by some tie or obligation, which should hinder them from being considered as common to the whole species; but of what kind these ties and obligations were, or how entered into,

we can now only conjecture. From the CHAP.
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complexion of the times, however, we may suppose, that they were simple, and not attended with any remarkable pomp or ceremony. This we the more readily believe, when we consider, that in the Mosaic history of the creation, our original mother is introduced as the wife of Adam, without taking notice of any ceremony performed to make her such: and that there was none, appears plain from the circumstances of her case. Every marriage ceremony, is only a mutual agreement between the contracting parties, to be faithful to each other, which agreement is always made in the presence of witnesses. But while only one man, and one woman existed, they had no third person to be a witness, nor could they possibly prove unfaithful to each other; consequently could have no use for any mutual engagement to fidelity; unless we can suppose, that when their own posterity became of age, such engagement should become necessary on their account. But here, if we mistake not, nature has interposed her authority, by raising a horror at all incestuous commerce:

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~ thing was done in the most plain and simple manner; a man set up a stone, or erected a pillar, to mark the spot of ground he had appropriated to his own use; and he took unto himself a wife; that is, carried her home to his house, and perhaps made her promise to adhere to him only, and to assist him in bringing up the children they might have together. This seems to have been the only mode in which marriages were originally contracted; at least it was the mode during the patriarchal ages. Lamech, one of the sons of Adam, took unto himself two wives. Abraham took unto himself a wife. The other patriarchs and people followed the example; and, for many centuries, the Israelitish women, and perhaps those of other nations, were appropriated to their husbands in this simple manner.

BUT besides these marriages, by simple appropriation, there appear to have been others of a nature still more simple. Accidental circumstances sometimes brought a man and woman together, and when any children were the produce of this cohabitation, natural affection excited them to remain


remain together, and unite their endeavours for the preservation and maintenance of their offspring. A strong proof, that such marriages existed in ancient times, is, that they were much in use among the Romans, and are to be found at this day among some uncultivated people. The most ancient kind of marriage among the Romans, was when a man and woman came together, without any previous bargain; and having lived together for some time, found themselves insensibly become so necessary to each other, that they could not think of parting. Among the Kalmuc Tartars, a young couple agree between themselves, retire for one year as husband and wife; and if, in that time, the woman brings forth a child, they remain together; if not, they either make trial of another year, or agree to part. In the island of Otaheite, the inhabitants pursue incontinent gratifications, wherever inclination leads them; but when a woman becomes pregnant, the father of her child thereby becomes her husband. Such are the simple modes of marrying, among people unacquainted with the falsehood and duplicity introduced by civilization and refinement of manners.

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 Marriage  
 ceremo-  
 nies be-  
 came more  
 complex  
 as society  
 advanced,

As the number of the human race increased, and the number of incitements to conjugal infidelity increased also, the simple modes of appropriating a woman, by carrying her home, or by living with her for some time, were found insufficient either to check her own inclination to infidelity, or secure her from the attacks of the licentious; hence methods of a more public and solemn nature were contrived, and the marriage ceremony probably converted into a covenant, with similar ceremonies to the covenants that were made at the establishing of peace, or securing of property. Many and various were the contrivances made use of to establish and perpetuate the memory of those covenants: Abraham presented Abimelech, king of the Philistines, with sheep and oxen; which he desired him, before witnesses, to accept of as a token, that he should have the property of a well which he had digged. The Phœnicians set up a stone, or a pillar, or raised a heap of stones, as a memorial of any public agreement; a practice which was followed by many other nations. The Scythians, in their alliances and ceremonies, poured wine into an earthen vessel; and having mixed it with the blood of the contracting

contracting parties, these parties dipped a scy- CHAP.  
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miter, some arrows, a bill, and a javelin  
into the vessel; and after many imprecations  
on him who should break the agreement,  
they themselves first drank of the mixture,  
and the rest of the company, as witnesses,  
followed their example. When the ancient  
Arabians took an oath, they cut the hands  
of the contracting parties with a sharp stone,  
then pulled a tuft from the garment of each,  
dipped them in the blood which flowed from  
the wounds, and sprinkled the blood upon  
seven stones set up between them, invoking  
in the mean time Bacchus and Urania. The  
ancient Medes and Lycians, in making pub-  
lic agreements, wounded themselves in the  
arm, and the parties mutually sucked the  
blood of each other. The Nafamones, in  
pledging their faith to each other, mutually  
presented a cup of liquor, and if they had  
none, they took up dust and put it in their  
mouths. The Greeks and Romans, in their  
public contracts joined their hands together,  
and swore by their gods, by the tombs of  
their ancestors, or by any other object ca-  
pable of exciting the greatest awe and  
reverence. Such were the ceremonies at-  
tending covenants and alliances in the pri-  
mitive

CHAP. XXV.  tive ages; and as marriage was an alliance not only between the parties themselves, but their families and relations, it is probable that some of these ceremonies were made use of to ratify and confirm it.

Wives  
purchased  
and why.

BUT though matrimonial agreements were not only made public, but solemnly confirmed by some of the above ceremonies; such is the proclivity to vice, that even these were found insufficient to secure female fidelity; and hence, perhaps, arose the custom of purchasing a wife from her relations for a stipulated price, and a few presents made to the bride herself; a custom also of great antiquity, for Jacob served seven years for Rachel, and Sechem told the brethren of Dinah that he would give whatever they should ask for their sister. This method of marrying, as it augmented the power of a husband over his wife, gave him greater security for her good behaviour; for by the purchase she became his slave, and on the least suspicion he could confine her; or he could turn her away at pleasure, if she did not answer the purposes for which he intended her.

THOUGH



THOUGH we are not perfectly certain what were the ceremonies of marriage in the primitive ages, it appears plain that the commerce between the sexes began early to be regulated, because all the most ancient traditions agree in ascribing that regulation to their first sovereigns and lawgivers. Menes, who is said to have been the first king of Egypt, is also said to have been the first who introduced and fixed the laws of matrimony among the Egyptians. The Greeks give the honour of this institution to Cecrops; the Chinese to Fo Hi, their first sovereign; the Peruvians to Manco-capac, and the Jews to God Almighty himself. Nor does it only seem that matrimony was early introduced, but that at its first introduction among most nations, no more than one woman was allowed to one man. Jupiter had only his Juno; Pluto his Proserpine; and Osiris his Isis. The stolen amours of the gods and heroes of antiquity, and the conduct of their wives upon discovering them, seem all plainly to shew that their legal right of commerce with the sex extended only to one woman. The case, however, seems to have been otherwise among the Jews, for as early as the days of Adam,

C H A P.  
XXV.Commerce  
between  
the sexes  
early re-  
gulated

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Polygamy
early in-
troduced.

Ancient
ceremony
of mar-
riage con-
sisted in
feasting.

Adam, Lamech, one of his sons, introduced the practice of marrying a plurality of wives; a practice which was imitated by the neighbouring nations, till in time it became almost universal.

FROM the earliest antiquity men were accustomed to feast and rejoice together on memorable events, and on the acquisition of any thing they reckoned valuable: besides the value stamped on a woman by love, she was also a considerable acquisition, as she stood in the quality of a servant as well as of a wife; in which last quality she gave her husband likewise a prospect of raising up children, to perpetuate his name, and assist him in old age, circumstances of the utmost importance in the primitive ages. But besides these, a wife was valuable on another account. While society was in its infancy, almost every family was at war with its neighbours about the distribution and defence of property, and it was only by the alliance of several families, that they could sometimes be enabled to support themselves against their more powerful rivals. Such alliances, and such additional strength to families, came generally by
marrying,

marrying, on all these accounts, marriage was considered as an important transaction, and feasts were early instituted at its celebration; which feasts, we have reason to believe, were frequently the whole of the ceremony; served to make the contract public, and also in place of those writings which in our times ascertain the rights and privileges of the parties. Laban gathered his friends together and made a marriage-feast, when he deceived Jacob by given him Leah instead of Rachel; but as this feast is not mentioned as any thing new or uncommon, we have reason to suppose the custom had obtained long before that time. Sampson, when he married Delilah, made a feast which lasted seven days, “for so used the young men to do.” The Babylonians carried marriage-feasts to such an extraordinary length, that many having ruined their fortunes by the expence, a sumptuary law was made to curb the extravagance. Among the ancient Scandinavians, almost every public transaction was attended with a feast, and that at the celebration of a marriage was a scene of revelry and drunkenness, which was frequently productive of the most fatal effects. The Phrygians too had sumptuous

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entertainments on these occasions. Entertainments also of a like nature were common among the Jews in the time of our Saviour; and they are at this day given almost by all nations, but more particularly by those, among whom the excess of politeness has not banished merriment and rustic hospitality.

Betroth-
ing what.

IN an early period of the world, the interest, or sometimes the inclination, of parents, when they had lived in a friendly manner with, and contracted a regard for, their neighbours, naturally prompted them to wish, that a marriage between their own children, and those of such neighbours might take place, to strengthen the alliance of the families; and as this wish was frequently formed before the parties were of an age proper for such a junction, they fell upon a method of securing them to each other, by what is called in the sacred writings betrothing. This was agreeing on a price to be paid for the bride, the time when it should be paid, and when she should be delivered into the hands of her husband. There were, according to the Talmudists, three ways of betrothing. The first, by a written

written contract. The second, by a verbal agreement, accompanied with a piece of money. And the third, by the parties coming together and living as husband and wife; which could not properly be called betrothing, *it was marriage itself*. The written contract was in the following words:

“ On such a day, month, and year, A. the
 “ son of B. has said to D. the daughter of
 “ E., be thou my spouse according to the
 “ law of Moses and of the Israelites, and I
 “ will give thee as a dowry for thy virginity
 “ the sum of two hundred Suzims, as it is
 “ ordered by our law; and the said D. hath
 “ promised to be his spouse upon the condi-
 “ tions aforesaid, which the said A. doth
 “ promise to perform on the day of mar-
 “ riage; and to this the said A. doth hereby
 “ bind himself, and all that he hath, to the
 “ very cloak upon his back; engages him-
 “ self to love, honour, feed, clothe, and
 “ protect her, and to perform all that is ge-
 “ nerally implied in contracts of marriage in
 “ favour of the Israelitish wives.”

THE verbal agreement was made in the presence of a sufficient number of witnesses, by the man saying to the woman, “ Take

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“ this money as a pledge, that at such a time
“ I will take thee to be my wife.” A woman
who was by any of these methods betrothed
or bargained for, was almost in every res-
pect by the law considered as already mar-
ried, bound nearly by the same ties and
obligations, and enjoyed nearly the same
privileges and immunities, as she who actu-
ally lived and cohabited with her husband.

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The same Subject continued.

HITHERTO our observations on the origin and progress of the matrimonial compact have, for the most part, been either general, or confined to periods involved in the darkness of remote antiquity: we shall now endeavour to trace the ceremonies and usages of that compact, through ages which begin to be better known, and in which, being furnished with more historical facts, we shall have the less occasion to supply their place by probability and conjecture.

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THOUGH, from what we have already observed, it is highly presumable, that before the legislation of Moses, the only marriage ceremonies among the Jews were sending a few presents, or feasting together, to make the affair public; yet the Rabbies, ever fertile in imagination, have told us the contrary. “Marriages,” say they, “were even then agreed upon by the parents and
“relations

Marriage
ceremony
according
to the
Rabbies.

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“ relations of both sides; which being done,
 “ the bridegroom was introduced to his
 “ bride; presents were mutually exchanged,
 “ the contract signed before witnesses, and
 “ the bride, having remained some time with
 “ her relations, was sent away to the habi-
 “ tation of her husband, in the night, with
 “ singing, dancing, and the sound of musi-
 “ cal instruments.” Such, according to the
 Rabbies, was the marriage ceremony prior
 to the time of Moses; let us also take a view
 of that which they tell us was instituted by
 him.

WHEN the day appointed for celebrating
 the wedding was come, which was generally
 Friday for a maid, and Thursday for a wi-
 dow, the contract of marriage was read in
 the presence of, and signed by at least ten
 witnesses, who were free and of age. The
 bride, who had taken care to bathe herself
 the night before, appeared in all her splend-
 our, but veiled, in imitation of Rebecca,
 who veiled herself when she came in sight
 of Isaac; she was then given to the bride-
 groom by her parents, in words to this
 purpose; “ Take her, according to the law
 “ of Moses;” and he received her, by saying,
 “ I take

“ I take her according to that law.” Some blessings were then pronounced upon the young couple, both by the parents and the rest of the company.* The virgins sung a marriage song. The company then partook of a repast, the most magnificent that the parties could afford ; after which they began a dance, the men round the bridegroom, the women round the bride ; and this dance, they pretended, was of divine institution, and an essential part of the ceremony. The bride was then carried to the nuptial bed, and the bridegroom left in the chamber with her ; when the company again returned to their feasting and rejoicing, and the Rab- bies inform us, that this feasting, when the bride was a widow, lasted only three days, but seven if she was a virgin. A law, which was so obligatory, that if a man married

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* The blessings or prayers generally ran in this style: “ Blessed art thou, O Lord of heaven and earth, who hast created man in thine own likeness, and hast appointed woman to be his partner and companion ! Blessed art thou, who fillest Sion with joy for the multitude of her children ! Blessed art thou, who sendest gladness to the bridegroom and his bride ! who hast ordained for them love, joy, tenderness, peace, and mutual affection. Be pleased to bless, not only this couple, but Judah and Jerusalem, with songs of joy, and praise for the joy that thou givest them, by the multitude of their sons and of their daughters.

several

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several wives in one day, he was bound to allow a feast of seven days to each of them; in the order in which they were married.

IN periods later than these we are now considering, the ceremonies of marriage were, according to the Rabbies, considerably changed. Both the man and woman were led to the house of marriage by their nearest friends, where ten people at least were to be present; there the bill of dowry being publicly ratified, the man spoke thus to the woman: “Be thou a wife to me, according to the law of Moses, and I will worship and honour thee, according to the word of God, and will feed and govern thee, according to the custom of those who worship, honour, and govern their wives faithfully. I give thee, for dowry of thy virginity, fifty shekels.” At the birth of a son, the father planted a cedar; and at that of a daughter, he planted a pine. Of these trees the nuptial bed was constructed, when the parties, at whose birth they were planted, entered into the married state.

FROM

FROM these imperfect sketches of marriage among the Jews, we now proceed to consider it among the other nations of antiquity. The Egyptians attributed the introduction of it to Menes their first sovereign. That it was early instituted among a people who took the lead in almost every thing that tended to improve society, we have little room to doubt: but though we have some account of the several ties and obligations of the married state among them, we are entirely ignorant of the manner in which that state was entered into. In this article, the history of the Philistines, Canaanites, Carthaginians, and many other nations, is involved in the same obscurity. Of the Philistines, however, we may observe, that their ideas of marriage must have been exceedingly crude and indigested, as the father-in-law of Sampson, gave away his daughter Delilah, to another husband, upon Sampson being sometime absent from her.

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Ceremo-  
nies of  
marriage  
among  
the an-  
cients not  
described.

THE ancient Assyrians seem more thoroughly to have settled and digested the affairs of marriage, than any of their contemporaries. Once every year they as-

Assyrian  
method of  
disposing  
of their  
women in  
marriage.

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sembled together all the girls that were marriageable, when the public crier put them up to sale, one after another. For her whose figure was agreeable, and whose beauty was attracting, the rich strove against each other, who should give the highest price; which price was put into a public stock, and distributed in portions to those whom nature had less liberally accomplished, and whom nobody would take without a reward. After the most beautiful were all disposed of, the ordinary sort were also put up by the public crier, and a certain sum of money offered with each, proportioned to what it was thought she stood in need of to bribe a husband to accept of her. When any man offered to accept one of these, on the terms upon which she was exposed to sale, the crier proclaimed, that such a man had proposed to take such a woman, with such a sum of money along with her, provided none could be found who would take her with less; and in this manner the sale went on, till she was at last allotted to him who offered to take her with the smallest portion. When this public sale was over, the purchasers of those that were beautiful, were not allowed to take them away, till they had

had paid down the price agreed on, and given sufficient security that they would marry them; nor, on the other hand, would those who were to have a premium for accepting of such as were less beautiful, take a delivery of them, till their portions were previously paid. It is probable, that this sale brought together too great multitudes of people from inconvenient distances, to the detriment, perhaps, of agriculture and commerce, and that strangers could not give sufficient security to fulfil their bargains; for a law was afterwards made, prohibiting the inhabitants of different districts from intermarrying with each other, and ordaining, that husbands should not use their wives ill; a vague kind of ordonnance, which shews how imperfectly legislation was understood among these people.

HISTORY has not, so far as we know, given us any account of what was further meant by marrying the woman, after having thus publicly bargained for her. If we may judge, however, from the customs of the times, and of the neighbouring nations, we may suppose, that their further marriage consisted only in taking home to their houses

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the wives they had bought, and calling their friends together to feast with them, and be witnesses of their fulfilling the engagement they had entered into. These hints concerning matrimony among the Assyrians plainly prove, that the proper regulation of it was an object of their most serious attention; but another circumstance proves this in a still stronger manner. The Assyrians had a court, or tribunal, whose only business was to dispose of young women in marriage, and to see the laws of that union properly executed. What these laws were, or how the execution of them was enforced, are circumstances which have not been handed down to us. But the erecting a court solely for the purpose of taking cognizance of them, suggests an idea that they were many and various.

IN looking over the history of the other nations which flourished in the times under review, we find no account of their marriage-ceremonies till we come to the Greeks; and this silence on the subject gives us reason to suppose, that in many countries they really had no other than the simple mode of carrying home a bride, and making  
a feast

a feast for her reception; this we are the more inclined to believe, when we consider the circumstantial detail we have, of many of the public ceremonies of Darius, of Cyrus, and some others; that we are not only told of their being married, but have also an account of the time when, and the persons, to whom, but not the least account of the manner how; which the historians of the times would scarcely have omitted, had their marriages been celebrated with pomp and public ceremony.

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THOUGH Cecrops, the first king of the Greeks, is supposed to have lived nearly about the time of Moses, and to have instituted marriage among his own people; yet during the whole of the heroic ages, which lasted many centuries after Moses, these people appear to have been so rude and uncultivated, that we cannot suppose they had brought this institution to any perfection, either in its ceremonies or its laws. Whether Cecrops ordained that the Greeks should follow the customs of the Egyptians in marrying, or went a step farther, and fixed new ceremonies of his own, we know not. We are,

Cecrops  
first insti-  
tuted  
marriage  
among the  
Greeks.

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are, however, informed, that at a marriage, even in the heroic ages, there was a meeting of relations and of neighbours; who, in order to recal to memory the times of simplicity, when their ancestors lived almost entirely on the spontaneous productions of the earth, presented the new-married couple with a basket of acorns mixed with bread; a custom, which, perhaps, gave birth to the nuptial scattering of nuts among the Romans. At this meeting, the Greeks, according to the hospitality of uncultivated people, had feastings and rejoicings; as appears from Theseus being invited to the nuptials of Pirithous, when he helped him to kill a great number of Centaurs, who in their cups had offered violence to the female guests at the wedding; and from the story of Attis, the son of Cybele, who was by Midas to have been married to his daughter, had not Cybele prevented it by breaking into the city, and causing a frenzy to fall upon all those who assisted at the ceremony of the nuptials. Some are of opinion, that pledges and securities were, by the institution of Cecrops, mutually interchanged between the parties; but this, and almost every other circumstance relative to the mode



mode of marrying in the heroic ages, being only conjecture, we proceed to give some account of that mode, in periods when the history of the Greeks is less involved in fable, and more distinctly known.

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As soon as the consent of the parents and relations was obtained, the parties were sometimes betrothed, in these words: “I give you this my daughter, to make you the father of legitimate children.” After which, the young couple plighted their faith to each other by a kiss, or joining together their right hands, a custom observed by the Grecians in all their public agreements. The Thebans plighted their faith to each other at the monument of Iolaus, who, after he had been deified, was supposed to take care of the affairs of love. The Athenian virgins, when marriageable, presented baskets of little curiosities to Diana, to obtain leave to depart from her train, she being esteemed the peculiar patron of maidens. And before they could lawfully marry, they presented themselves before her shrine at Brauron, an Athenian village, in order to appease her for intending to depart from the state of virginity, in which she so much delighted.

Marriage  
ceremo-  
nies of  
the  
Greeks  
after they  
became a  
polished  
people.

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lighted. The Bœotians and Locrians of both sexes offered, before their nuptials, a sacrifice to Euclia, or Diana, to avert her resentment against them, for changing from a single to a married life. These sacrifices consisted in consecrated wafers, cakes, and animals, which were slain on her altars. Several of the other gods and goddesses had sacrifices offered at their altars on this occasion, as Jupiter, Juno, Minerva; and Venus, who was generally invoked with peculiar fervency, as being the goddess of love. The Lacedæmonians had an ancient statue of this goddess, to whom it was incumbent upon all mothers to offer sacrifices on the marriage of their daughters. The multiplicity of male and female deities among the Greeks, who were concerned in the affairs of love, made the invocations and sacrifices on this occasion a tedious affair. Even the Fates were by no means to be forgot, but to obtain the favour of the Graces, the most ample offerings were bestowed in the most liberal manner.

THE time appointed for these ceremonies was commonly the day before the marriage, when the parties having cut off some of their  
hair,

hair, presented it to such deities as they most regarded; or to whom they thought themselves under the greatest obligations: CHAP.  
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BUT besides these sacrifices preparatory to the marriage, other victims were offered at the solemnization of it; and on this occasion, as soon as the victims were slain, they were opened, the gall taken out; and thrown behind the altar, to intimate that all gall and bitterness should be thrown behind the parties, when they enter into the married state. The entrails were then carefully inspected by the soothsayers; and if they declared that any thing unlucky appeared in them, the nuptials were either delayed or entirely broken off; and the same thing took place if any ill omen happened; during the celebration of them, as was the case at the marriage of Clitophon with Calligone, where, an eagle having snatched a piece of the victim from the altar, the whole company dispersed in terror and consternation. Fortunate omens gave great joy, and the most fortunate of all others, was a pair of turtles seen in the air, as those birds were reckoned the truest emblem of conjugal love and fidelity; but if one of them was seen alone;

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it infalliably denoted separation and all the ills attending an unhappy marriage. We cannot help observing here, to what a train of groundless fears and apprehensions superstition subjects her votaries, and how easily they may be deceived, in taking for the denunciations of heaven, the frauds and tricks of their enemies, as sometimes happened to the Greeks; if what is reported be true, that such as were averse to a marriage, or wished the parties to be unhappy, sometimes took a single turtle along with them, and letting it fly, either put an end to the ceremony, or filled the hearts of the contracting parties with terror and astonishment; but we must remark also, that those who wished well to the young couple, sometimes carried a pair of turtles along with them, and by their flight diffused joy and gladness into all the company, and particularly into those who were most interested in the fate of the marriage.


THE bride and bridegroom were richly dressed, and adorned with garlands of herbs and flowers. Cakes made of *sesame*, a plant remarkable for its fruitfulness, were plentifully distributed among the company. The
house

house of the bridegroom was likewise adorned with garlands. A pestle was tied to the door of it, a maid carried a sieve, and the bride an earthen vessel with barley, all which were emblems of her future employment. She was conducted in the evening to the house of her husband, in a chariot, seated between the husband and one of his relations; servants carrying lighted torches immediately before, and singers and dancers preceding the whole cavalcade. When the bride alighted from the chariot, the axle-tree of it was burnt, to signify that there was no method left for her to return back. As soon as the young couple entered the house, figs and other fruits were thrown upon their heads, to denote plenty; and a sumptuous entertainment was ready for them to partake of, to which all the relations on both sides were invited. During the feast, the deities that presided over marriage were invoked, and honoured with music and dancing. The chief intention of this feast, according to the Greek authors, was to make the marriage publicly known, and on that account was an essential part of the ceremony.



THE dancing ended, the married couple were conveyed to their bed-chamber, previous to which, the bride bathed her feet in water, always brought from the fountain *Callirhoe*, on a superstitious opinion of some secret virtues it contained; this done, she was lighted to bed, by a number of torches, according to her quality; round one of these torches, the bride's mother tied her own hair lace. It was also the privilege of the mother to light the torches, a privilege of which the Grecian matrons were exceedingly tenacious. The young couple being left together, were, by the laws of Athens, obliged to eat a quince, after which the bridegroom proceeded to loose the bride's girdle, the young men and maidens standing at the door singing epithalamia, the men making a great noise with their feet and voices to drown the cries of the bride. This done, the company retired, and returned in the morning, to salute the new-married couple, and to sing epithalamia again at the door of their bed-chamber*.

* Epithalamia were marriage-songs, anciently sung in praise of the bride or bridegroom, wishing them happiness, prosperity, and a numerous issue.

THESE ceremonies being finished, the CHAP. XXVI.
 bride presented to her husband a garment, 
 and presents were made both to the bridegroom and bride, by their relations; they consisted in such kinds of household furniture as were then made use of, and were carried in great state to their house by a company of women, preceded by a boy in white apparel, with a lighted torch in his hand, and between him and the women, a person with a basket of flowers, as customary at the Grecian processions,

SUCH were the most material ceremonies at the celebration of a Greek marriage. Other ceremonies sometimes used.
 A variety of others are frequently alluded to in their Authors; but as they would be tedious to relate, and seemed to have been less essential, we shall pass over them in silence,

AT Sparta, marriages were conducted in a very different manner. When the preliminaries were settled by a female match-maker, she shaved the bride, dressed her in man's cloaths, and left her sitting upon a mattrass; the bridegroom stole privately to her, and having staid a short time, stole as pri-
 Manner of marrying at Sparta.

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privately away, a conduct which the laws of that republic obliged a married couple to observe, in their intercourse with each other, through the whole of their lives.

ALMOST innumerable instances have contributed to verify the observation, that friends agree best when they live sepe-
rate. The reason of this is plain. Every human being has a certain share of follies and foibles, which, though it may conceal from the occasional visitor, cannot escape the notice of one who is domesticated in the family. This continual domestication, this almost uninterrupted confinement to the company of each other, soon gives an European husband and wife, an opportunity of discovering every blemish and imperfection; hence love dwindles into indifference, and indifference grows into contempt. The Spartan legislator seems to have been aware of this; he appears to have foreseen, that in matrimony, as well as other friendships, love and regard would be diminished by too intimate an acquaintance, he therefore ordained, that husband and wife should never have it in their power fully to show their weak sides to each other; and by this ordi-

ordination he kept their love from being cloyed, and their friendship from being extinguished.

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THERE were three different kinds of marriage among the Romans, distinguished from each other by the names of Conerration, Coemption; and Use; Conerration was the manner in which only the pontiffs and other priests were married, and was always celebrated by a priest; *and we call the attention of our readers to this remarkable circumstance, that, in the marriages of the pontiffs of ancient Rome, long before the christian era, we discover the first instance of priests having celebrated the rites of that institution.* The ceremony consisted in the young couple eating a cake together, made only of wheat, salt, and water; part of which, along with other sacrifices, were, in a solemn manner, offered to the gods of marriage.

Marriage
ceremo-
nies
among
the Ro-
mans.

THE second kind of marriage, called Coemption, was celebrated by the parties solemnly pledging their faith to each other, by giving and receiving a piece of money; a ceremony which was the most common way of marrying among the Romans, and which



which continued in use even after they became Christians. When writings were introduced to testify that a man and woman had become husband and wife, and also, that the husband had settled a dower upon his bride, these writings were called *Tabulæ Dotales*; dowry tables; and hence, perhaps, the words in our marriage ceremony, *I thee endow*.

THE third kind of marriage, denominated Use, was, when the accidental living together of a man and woman had been productive of children, and they found it necessary, or convenient, on that, and other accounts, to continue together; in which case, if they agreed the matter between themselves, it became a valid marriage, and the children were considered as legitimate. Something similar to this, is the present custom in Scotland; where, if a man and woman live together till they have children, if the man marry the woman, even upon his death-bed, all the antinuptial children are thereby legitimated, and become intitled to the honours and estates of their father. The case is the same in Holland, and some parts of Germany; with this differ-

difference only, that all the children to be legitimated, must appear with the father and mother in the church, at the ceremony of their marriage.

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As soon as a marriage by Coëemption or Conferration was agreed upon, the augurs were consulted, that they might declare the pleasure of the gods, and point out a fortunate day for the celebration of it. When the contract was drawn up, it was sealed with the seals of the parents, and the bride's portion deposited in the hands of one of these augurs. The bridegroom sent to the bride a plain iron ring. On the wedding-day, while the bride's head was dressing, it was customary to divide her hair into six tresses, with the point of a spear, after the manner of the vestals; to teach her that she was to be a vestal to all but her husband. She was then crowned with a wreath of vervain, and other herbs, gathered by her own hands. Over the wreath they sometimes threw a veil, and put on her feet a pair of high heeled shoes, of the same colour as the veil. In ancient Rome, when the couple were ready for the ceremony, they put a yoke upon their necks, called *Conjugium*;

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and hence our word conjugal, or yoked together, is derived: a ceremony which is more emblematical of the matrimonial state, than any we have hitherto met with. That the bride might seem reluctantly to part with her virginity, they made a shew of forcing her from the arms of her mother; five torches were always used on this occasion, carried by five boys, previously washed and perfumed, in honour of the five divinities of marriage, Jupiter, Juno, Venus, Diana, and the goddess Persuasion. She was led by two young children to the house of her husband. A distaff was carried behind her, with a spindle, and a trunk or basket, in which was her toilette. When she arrived at the door, which was adorned with garlands of flowers and evergreens, fire and water were presented to her, and she was at the same time asked her name; to which she answered, *Caia*, to signify that she would be as good a wife as *Caia Cæcilia*, who was famous for the domestic and conjugal virtues. Before she entered the house, she was sprinkled with lustral water, that her husband might receive her pure and undefiled. She likewise put wool upon the door, and rubbed it with oil, or with the fat of some animal.



animal. This done, she was carried over the threshold, which the augurs reckoned unlucky for her to touch. Immediately after, the keys of all things in the house were delivered to her, and she was set upon a sheep's skin with the wool on it, to teach her, that she was from such materials to provide cloaths for her family. After the young couple were conducted to their chamber, immediately before the company took their leave of them, the bridegroom scattered nuts to the children, and the men sung verses, to obviate charms and incantations. Care was taken that there should be no light in the nuptial chamber, to spare the modesty of the bride, and prevent the bridegroom from discovering her blemishes. The next day, the husband gave a public entertainment, when the bride, appearing on the same couch with him at table, leaned upon him with an air of familiarity, and in her discourse seemed to glory so much in having thrown off her virgin modesty, that it became a proverb in Rome, when a woman talked indecently, to say, *she talks like a bride.*

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SUCH were the ceremonies by which a husband and wife were joined together, and such the additional ceremonies that served to give solemnity to their junction. In the early periods of Rome, Romulus ordered, that no woman should pretend to direct her husband, but that a husband might discard his wife, if she poisoned the children, counterfeited the keys, or committed adultery. Subsequent periods, gave him a power to inflict a suitable punishment upon her, if she acted perversely, dishonestly, or drunk wine; and even to kill her, if he surprised her in infidelity to his bed. But all the privileges were not on the side of the husband; some of a very extraordinary nature belonged to the wives, or rather to the widows, of Romans. Children born ten months after the death of the husband were reckoned legitimate; and Hadrian, thinking this period too short, extended it to eleven.

Marriage
ceremony
among the
Northerns

AMONG the northern nations who were contemporary with the Romans, and who afterward overturned their empire, a surprising similarity of manners was every where observable. Wherever fighting was concerned, they were universally distinguished

guished by a brutal ferocity; while, in re-
gard to the fair sex, they carried their po-
liteness, in many particulars, to a degree
hardly known even among the most civilized
nations. From the remotest antiquity, they
confined themselves to one wife, to whom
they were married in a manner more solemn
than we commonly meet with among a peo-
ple so rude and uncultivated. The father,
or guardian, gave away his daughter in
words to this effect: "I give thee my
" daughter in honourable wedlock, to have
" the half of thy bed, the keeping of the
" keys of thy house, one-third of the money
" thou art at present possessed of, or shalt
" possess hereafter, and to enjoy the other
" rights appointed to wives by law." The
husband then made his bride a present, by
way of dowry. The relations of both par-
ties were witnesses of what he gave; which
were not things adapted to flatter her vanity,
or adorn her person, but commonly con-
sisted of some oxen, a bridled horse, or a
shield, spear, or sword. In return for which,
the bride made her husband a present of
some arms; and the mutual interchange of
these presents they esteemed an indissoluble
tie, as they were given and received before
witnesses

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C. H. A. P. witnesses the most nearly connected with
 XXVI. them, and before the connubial gods,
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These ceremonies  
 more complex in  
 later times.

As modes and customs are perpetually changing with the times and circumstances, this simple ceremony, at last, became more complicated; the bridegroom sent all his friends and relations to the house of the bride's father, who, with all the relations on her side, conducted her from thence to that of her future husband, being led by a matron, and followed by a company of young maidens. On her arrival, she was received by the bridegroom, who proceeded along with her to the church, where a priest performed the nuptial benediction. When the bride was a virgin, this was commonly done beneath a canopy, to save her blushes: when a widow, the canopy was thought unnecessary. Among the Franks, instead of the church, marriages were to be performed in a full court, where a buckler had been three times lifted up, and three causes at least openly tried; otherwise it was not valid. When it was done in the church, the priest afterward crowned the young couple with flowers: so crowned they went home, spent the afternoon in drinking



drinking and dancing, and at night, the whole company having seen them in bed together, drank to them, and retired. An ancient and inviolable custom prevailed among the people we are now considering. The bridegroom on the morning after the marriage, was obliged to present the bride with a morgengabe, or morning-gift; which became, notwithstanding of the laws of marriage, her sole and absolute property, and might be disposed of in her life or at her death. This morgengabe, at first, was probably only money, cattle, or furniture, afterward it was frequently land; and such was the influence of the clergy, that they often prevailed on the women to leave this land to the church.

HAVING thus far traced the ceremonies of marriage, we think it necessary to observe, that our sole intention was not to exhibit these ceremonies for the entertainment of our readers, but with a view also to discover whether marriage itself, and the various modes of celebrating it, are of divine or human institution.

IN

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IN the course of our narration, we have seen that the Jews attributed the institution of marriage to the Creator himself, because he made, and brought to Adam, a female companion; but as upon this occasion, the scripture mentions no such institution, we may with equal reason suppose, that he instituted marriage among the other animals, because he created them also male and female. We have further seen, that as the Jews, in general, attributed the institution of marriage to the Divinity, so their Rabbies attributed the institution of the ceremonies with which it was solemnized to Moses, who was divinely inspired. But Moses mentions no such thing, and has only in his code of legislation, issued a few regulations for the conduct of married people towards each other, and the necessity of these regulations shews, that marriage was, before his time, in so imperfect a state, that we cannot reasonably suppose it to have been directed by an all perfect being. The Liturgy also of our church, consonant to the opinion of the Jews, tells us, “that marriage was instituted “in the state of innocency;” but we can discover no foundation for such assertion; and the polygamy of the antediluvians

vians and patriarchs plainly point out, that it was then only a customary agreement, or at best the work of some bungling legislator. We do not hereby mean to depreciate marriage---on the contrary, we regard it as one of the wisest and most necessary regulations of society; but, for the reasons already given, we consider it only as a human regulation.

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IN the short history we have given of the rise and progress of matrimony among the other primitive nations, we have scarcely found any of them even pretending that it was instituted by their gods, but by their first legislators, as by Menes in Egypt, and by Cecrops in Greece; nor have we found even among the Jews themselves, that either prophet or priest were concerned in the celebration of it, though they managed every thing that was considered as sacred, or of divine institution. The other primitive nations had also priests, to whom the celebration of every holy rite was committed; but the magistrates, and relations of the contracting parties; were the only people who concerned themselves about the rites of marriage; a strong presumption that

CHAP. it was not considered in any other light  
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than as a civil compact.

It is a melancholy truth, that the improvement of society improves also the arts of fraud and dissimulation, and renders a far greater number of public ceremonies and laws, necessary to bind mankind to good faith, than are required among a simple uncultivated people. This is one reason why we have seen the ceremonies of marriage always becoming more complex, and more solemn. The laws of Moses, and of almost all the ancient legislators, gave to men, a liberty of polygamy, of concubinage, and made divorces a matter of the greatest facility; hence men were only accustomed to a yoke which felt light, and was easily shaken off. But the christian legislator, viewing the two sexes with impartiality, destroyed all these male privileges, ordered only one man and one woman to be joined together, and required the same absolute unconditional fidelity from both. Unaccustomed to this seeming severity, and considering it as an infringement of their liberty, the men became less faithful to their wives, and sometimes endeavoured to obtain

obtain that freedom by the denial of their marriage, which they could not hope for from a divorce; hence, perhaps, religion was first called in, to overawe the conscience, and make the compact more solemn.

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WE have already mentioned that among the ancient Romans, history gives us the first account of priests having performed the nuptial ceremony; and, as the christian religion was early introduced into Rome; from the pagan priests, the christian clergy, perhaps, borrowed the custom of celebrating marriages also. But it was some ages before mankind began to consider these marriages, which were solemnized by a priest, as the only legal ones, or before the priests themselves thought of appropriating this privilege entirely to their order. The Franks and some other christians were married in their courts of justice, by their relations or magistrates. Whether christian priests first performed the ceremonies of marriage, with a view to give them an additional solemnity, and, by so doing, to induce the parties more strictly to observe their obligations, or with a view to add to the importance and revenues of the church, is at this period uncertain. But however

Priests  
first per-  
formed  
the cere-  
mony of  
marriage  
at Rome.

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that be, Soter, the fifteenth bishop who filled St. Peter's chair, (for they had scarcely then assumed the name and authority of Pope) finding, that vesting the sole right of performing marriage ceremonies in the clergy, was likely to bring in a very considerable revenue, ordained, that no woman should be deemed a lawful wife, unless formally married by a priest, and given away by her parents. Though this was a great innovation on the ancient customs, and perhaps encroachment on the right of the civil power, we do not find that any resistance was made to it at Rome. In other parts of the christian world, however, where the successor of St. Peter had less influence, parents and magistrates still continued to exert the power of marrying; but this power seems, in process of time, to have been almost entirely wrested out of their hands, to do which the more effectually, the clergy dignified marriage with the name of a sacrament, in order to keep the prophane laity entirely from administering it; but at what time they fell upon this expedient, is not certainly known,

AFTER

AFTER a variety of nations had shaken off the authority of the church of Rome, they still left in the hands of their priests, almost an exclusive power of joining the sexes together in marriage. This, however, appears rather to have been by the tacit consent of the civil power, than from any defect in its right and authority; for in the time of Oliver Cromwell, marriages were frequently solemnized by the justices of the peace; and the clergy neither attempted to invalidate them, nor to make the children proceeding from them illegitimate; and when the province of New England was first settled, one of the earliest laws of the colony was, that the power of marrying should belong to the magistrates. How different was the case with the first French settlers in Canada! For many years a priest had not been seen in that country, and a magistrate could not marry. The consequence was natural. Men and women joined themselves together as husband and wife, trusting to the vows and promises of each other. Father Charlevoix, a Jesuit, at last travelling into these wild regions, found many of the simple, innocent inhabitants living in that manner; he rebuked them with much severity, enjoined them

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of marry-  
ing now  
solely ves-  
ted in the  
clergy.

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them to do penance, and afterwards married them. At the Restoration, the power of marrying reverted again to the clergy. The magistrate, however, had not entirely resigned his right to that power; but it was by a late act of parliament altogether wrested from him, and a penalty annexed to the solemnization of it by any other person but a priest.

That the clergy, and none else, derive this power from heaven, a foolish notion.

WHENCE it originated is not easy to say, but a notion pretty generally prevails in this and several other countries, that the clergy, and they only, are vested with a power from heaven, of licensing men and women to come together for the purposes of propagation\*; whereas nothing can be more evident, than that the two sexes being made for each other, have, from nature, the right of coming together for this purpose, and of disposing of themselves to each other; so

\* This was not the only usurpation of the clergy in the middle ages, there were a variety of others. No man was allowed christian burial who had not, according to his circumstances, bequeathed something to the church. A new-married couple were not allowed to go to bed together for the first three nights, unless they paid the church for a dispensation. In short, a man could neither come into the world, continue in it, nor go out of it, without being laid under contribution by the clergy.

that



that a clergyman, in performing a marriage ceremony, does not confer any right or privilege on the parties, which they had not before, but only in a public manner; and as appointed by the legislature of his country, witnesses and authenticates the public declaration they make of having entered into a matrimonial agreement according to the laws and customs of that country; to which bargain or agreement, this solemn and public authentication obliges the parties to stand, and becomes their security for the fidelity of each other: thus, whether the marriage ceremony be performed as it now is in most parts of the christian world, by a clergyman, or, as it formerly was, and still is in many parts of the globe, by a civil magistrate; neither the act of the clergyman, nor of the magistrate, convey any right, but only publicly record, that such parties have entered with mutual consent on the exercise of a right they have by nature; in the same manner, as when an heir at law succeeds to an estate, the ceremonies customary in the country where he resides at entering him heir, do not convey to him any new right to that estate, but only publicly declare and manifest to his country, that

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that he has entered into possession of that estate by virtue of his inherent right as heir to it by nature.

Civil and  
religious  
compacts  
equally  
binding.

THERE are many of our fair readers, who imagine that if marriage were only considered as a civil ceremony, it would lose much of its validity ; but a little reflection will discover this to be an error. When two or more people make an agreement to do such and such offices, and to abstain from the doing of others, if they take an oath, on the Bible, on the Koran, or the Talmud, at the altar, or in the open field, the oath is not by any of these additional circumstances rendered more or less binding, unless to superstitious minds. Its force and obligatory power is derived from another source : from our regard to moral rectitude, and its obligation upon us would be as strong, and a breach of it as immoral and dishonourable, if we made it in our closet, as if before witnesses. Every person whose mind is not warped by superstition, considers himself to be as firmly bound by a civil as a religious oath, and with an equal degree of conscientiousness performs what he swore, at the bar, as at the altar ; and were this  
not




not the case, we should either be obliged to call in the aid of religion to every kind of obligation, or to put an end to all mutual trust and confidence in civil transactions. Marriage, therefore, stands exactly in the same light as all other transactions of a nature interesting to the public; it is not allowed that every one should enter into it according to his own whim and caprice, but according to all the forms and ceremonies prescribed by the laws of his country. In Japan, she is only a lawful wife who is given by their great regal pontiff. By the laws of Mahomet, she is only so, who is married by the judge; and in a great many parts of the world, she cannot be so unless given by her parents. By the decrees of the council of Trent, she is only lawfully married who is given in the presence of at least three witnesses.

In different countries the word marriage admits of different significations. Among the greatest part of the ancients, it implied a sort of bargain entered into between one man and several women, that they should serve him, obey him, and be turned off at

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his pleasure. In the East it implies nearly the same thing at this day. In the Greek islands, and many other places, it signifies a temporary agreement between a man and a woman, to cohabit together so long as they can agree, or find it convenient; and so long as the man can pay his fair partner the sum for which she stipulated to live with him. On the coast of Guinea, and in many parts of Asia, it signifies a legal condemnation of the sex to be the slaves of their husbands, to labour for their subsistence, and to rear their children. In Europe, it is a mutual, and almost indissoluble agreement between one man and one woman, to live and cohabit together, through every circumstance of prosperous and adverse fortune, till death shall separate them.

HAVING given these imperfect sketches of the origin and progress of marriage; having marked as we came along, some of the causes which rendered the celebration of it more public and solemn, we now proceed to take a view of the manner in which wives were formerly acquired; of the rights, privileges, and immunities of married persons;

sons ; the restraint laid upon them ; and of CHAP.  
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the customs and usages by which they are   
governed and directed in their conduct to  
the world, and to one another.

## C H A P. XXVII.

*The same Subject continued.*C H A P.  
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WHEREVER the rights of nature are entire, women have a power to dispose of themselves in marriage. Where these rights are only in some degree infringed, the consent of parents, relations or guardians, is necessary. Where they are totally destroyed, the sex are disposed of by their parents and relations, in a manner little different from bargain and sale. The legislator, or the parents, almost every where deny to women who are under age, the liberty of disposing of themselves; and even such women as are of age, enjoy this liberty only in Europe, and colonies peopled by Europeans. Formerly in England, when a girl, between fourteen and twenty-one, got married without the consent of her parents, the law ordained no remedy for the evil; but by the late marriage act, all marriages contracted in the time of minority, without such consent, are declared null and void; and parents, and guardians are invested with a power

power of hindering their children, or wards, from marrying, till they have completed their twenty-first year. Among the Greeks, Romans, and several other people, a woman never obtained the power of chusing her partner in wedlock. When the Roman empire was overturned, when the feudal system was erected on its ruins, it was ordained, that no daughter of a vassal should be given in marriage, without the consent of the lord: and at this day, the daughters of the great, even in the politest countries of Europe, can scarcely be said to enjoy any disposing power of themselves, but are frequently stipulated for in a treaty of peace, or a family compact, and at last married, by proxy, to a man whom they never saw, and consequently cannot tell whether they may love or hate.

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In the most early periods of time, a woman seems to have been taken possession of for a wife, without any conditional agreement; after these periods, the most common way of obtaining her seems to have been by purchasing her from her relations. Abraham bought Rebecca for his son; Jacob, destitute of any thing to give, served Laban fourteen years for his two daughters; and  
 Secnem,

Wives  
purchased  
in a variety of  
places.

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Sechem, when in love with Jacob's daughter, was determined not to break off the match for whatever price her friends might fix upon her. The same custom is mentioned in a variety of places of Homer. It was practised in Thrace, in Spain, Germany, and Gaul. It is now practised in Hindostan, China, Tartary, Turkey; by the Moors of Africa, and the savages in a variety of other parts of the world. In Gaul, during the fifth century, the princess Clotilda, daughter of Gondebaud, king of the Burgundians, being married to Clovis by proxy, the proxy presented her with a sol and a denier, as the price of her virginity. In England, a wife was bought in a different manner; in the time of Edward the Third, Richard de Neville gave twenty palfreys to the king to obtain his request to Isola Bisset, that she should take him for a husband. Roger Fitz-Walter gave three good palfreys, to have the king's letter to Roger Betram's mother, that she should marry him. In these times, when the kings of England exercised so unlimited a power over their subjects, the king's request, or his letter, amounted to an absolute command, and the money paid to obtain these, was as literally the purchase of  
of



of a wife, as if it had been paid for her at a public sale.

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IN Timor, an island in the Indian Ocean, it is said, that parents sell their children to purchase more wives. In Circassia, women are reared and improved in beauty and every alluring art, only for the purpose of being sold. The prince of the Circassians, demanded from the prince of Mingrelia, an hundred slaves loaded with tapestry, an hundred cows, as many oxen, and the same number of horses, as the price of his sister. In New Zealand we meet with a custom which may be called purchasing a wife for a night, which is a proof that those must also be purchased who are intended for a longer duration. The Thracians put the fairest of their virgins up to public sale. The magistrates of Crete had the sole power of chusing partners in marriage for their young men; in the execution of this power, the affection and interest of the parties were totally overlooked, and the good of the state the only object of attention; in pursuing which, they always allotted the strongest and best made of each sex to one another, that

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that they might raise up a generation of warriors, or of women fit to be the mothers of warriors.

Reasons  
why wives  
brought  
a dowry  
instead of  
being pur-  
chased.

IN the primitive ages, when the number of the human race was but few, when every one might consequently appropriate to himself, and cultivate such grounds as lay most convenient for his use; when his wife and children, as soon as they were able, assisted in this and every other kind of labour; a wife was rather an advantage than otherwise, and therefore she was bought, both as an instrument of propagation, and an assistant in the occupations of life. But as societies were formed, lands and goods of all kinds appropriated, and women became, perhaps, less industrious, every addition to a family became an additional expence; hence, instead of a man paying a price for his wife, it was necessary he should receive something along with her. Marriage, therefore, became a compact between one man and one or more women, according to the custom of the country, to join their stocks, interests, and persons together, that they might be the better enabled to bring up a family, and carry on the trade or business  
by

by which they were to acquire a subsistence. CHAP.  
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 The stock or fortune of a woman so married, was called her portion or dowry, and in process of time came to be settled upon her as a security from want, if her husband should die before her.

As the Egyptians were supposed to be the first people who arrived at any degree of cultivation, among them we meet with the first account of portions. Pharaoh gave the city of Gazer to Solomon king of Israel; as a portion with his daughter. We do not recollect any other account of portions till we come to the Greeks; when we find Phares of Chalcedon, ordering, by a law, that the rich should give portions with their daughters to the poor, but receive none with such women as were married to their sons. A law, which he had founded on the custom of his country; for Helen brought to Menelaus the kingdom of Sparta, and afterwards, in default, we suppose, of male heirs, the daughters of several Grecian kings carried the kingdoms of their fathers, as dowries to their husbands. But although this was the case with regard to kingdoms, yet the contrary seems, in cases of private property,

Origin of  
portions.



property, to have been the general practice, as we learn from the story of Danaus, whose daughters having rendered themselves infamous, their father caused a proclamation to be made, that he would not demand any presents from those who should marry them; and from the conduct of Agamemnon to Achilles, who tells him, that he will give him one of his daughters in marriage, without requiring any presents. The presents usually made on those occasions were of two kinds; the first was given to the father of the lady, as a bribe or price to engage him to give his daughter to the suitor; the second, to the lady herself, in order to gain her affection: and some authors are of opinion, that the presents thus made to the father and the daughter, were joined together to compose the fortune of the latter, which was settled upon her as her dower. So that if the husband did not literally purchase a bride, he bribed her to his arms, and to an independence, with his own money. This kind of dower, or separate property of the wife, seems not only to have been an early custom, but also widely diffused among the ancients. In the laws of Hindostan, it is accurately settled and defined; and in  
Arabia,

Arabia, it took place so long before the appearance of Mahomet, that in his time it seems to have been thoroughly canvassed and understood. The bridegroom sent the presents of which it consisted, from his house to that of the bride, with such an ostentatious pomp and parade, that though the whole might have been carried by two or three horses or camels, twenty or thirty at least were commonly employed for the purpose.

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As the principles of equity and justice began to be unfolded, it was easy to discover, that women who had assisted their fathers and husbands in acquiring the goods of fortune, should not be given in marriage by the first without portions, nor left by the last at death without settlements as an equivalent for these portions; hence the custom of receiving a fortune with a bride, and settling at least an equivalent upon her and her heirs, insinuated itself into every country, in proportion as its inhabitants became civilized, and acquainted with the natural rights of mankind.

Reasons  
why a  
dower  
was set-  
tled on a  
widow.

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Of poly-  
gamy and  
concubi-  
page.

BESIDES the methods of purchasing wives of their relations, and agreeing with themselves by a mutual compact; polygamy and concubinage are circumstances which greatly influence the conduct of a husband towards them. Polygamy, or the custom of marrying a plurality of women, began in a very early period of the world. Lamech took two wives, and from that time forward it is probable, all the inhabitants of the East followed his example, and took as many as their inclinations and circumstances would allow of. From the manners of the primitive ages, we may suppose, that concubinage followed soon after polygamy, though we have no distinct account of it, till the time of Abraham, in whose history we are presented with the ceremony of making a concubine; a ceremony which to us at this period appears not less singular than unnatural. Sarai, Abraham's wife, being barren, takes her handmaid Hagar, presents her to her husband, and prays him to go in unto her, and raise up seed to Sarai. Although we are not here told of any compulsion on the part of Abraham, it would seem that this was not altogether a voluntary act of his wife, as it is so unnatural for one woman

to allow another peaceably to share the embraces of her husband, which even now in Hindostan, where the practice has subsisted time immemorial, the sex are brought to with the greatest difficulty; as we find by one of the laws of that people, which ordains, “that whatever a husband, on his contracting a second marriage, may give his wife *to pacify her*, is to be reckoned her sole and absolute property.”

POLYGAMY and concubinage having in process of time become fashionable, the women kept by the great were more for grandeur and state, than for satisfying the animal appetite; Solomon had threescore queens, and fourscore concubines, and virgins without number. Maimon tells us, that among the Jews a man might have as many wives as he pleased, even to the number of a hundred, and that it was not in their power to hinder him, provided he could maintain, and pay them all the conjugal debt once a week; but in this duty he was not to run in arrear to any of them above one month, though with regard to concubines he might do as he pleased.

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THE ancient Germans were so strict monogamists\*, that they reckoned it a species of polygamy for a woman to marry a second husband, even after the death of the first. "A woman," said they, "has but one life, and one body, therefore should have but one husband;" and besides, they added, "that she who knows she is never to have a second husband, will the more value and endeavour to promote the happiness and preserve the life of the first." Among the Heruli this idea was carried farther, a woman was obliged to strangle herself at the death of her husband, lest she should afterward marry another; so detestable was polygamy in the North, while in the East it is one of these privileges which they most of all others esteem, and maintain with such inflexible firmness, that it will probably be one of the last of those that the Europeans will wrest out of their hands.

THE Egyptians, it is probable, did not allow of polygamy, and as the Greeks borrowed their institutions from them, it was also forbid by the laws of Cecrops, though

\* Monogamy is having only one wife.



concubinage seems either to have been allowed or overlooked; for in the *Odyſſey* of Homer we find Ulyſſes declaring himſelf to be the ſon of a concubine, which he certainly would not have done, had any great degree of infamy been annexed to it. In ſome caſes, however, polygamy was allowed in Greece, from a miſtaken notion that it would increaſe population; in others the laws ſometimes took no notice of it. Euripides is ſaid to have had two wives, who, by their conſtant diſagreement, gave him a diſlike to the whole ſex; a ſuppoſition which receives ſome weight from theſe lines of his *Andromache*:

CHAP.  
XXVII.  
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————— ne'er will I commend
More beds, more wives than one, nor
 children curs'd [of life.
With double mothers, banes and plagues

Socrates too had two wives, but the poor culprit had as much reaſon to repent of his temerity as Euripides.

POLYGAMY ſeems not to have been entirely eradicated among the Chriſtians in the ſixth century, as we find it then enacted in

Late in-
ſtances of
polygamy
and biga-
my.



in the canons of one of their councils, that if any one is married to many wives he shall do penance. Even the clergy themselves, in this period, practised bigamy*, as we find it ordained by another council held at Narbonne, that such clergyman as were bigamists, should only be presbyters and deacons, and should not be allowed to marry and consecrate. In the eight century, Charlemagne had two wives. Sigebert and Chilperic had also a plurality, according to Gregory of Tours. But our astonishment is still more excited, to find instances of bigamy and polygamy so late as the sixteenth century. The German reformers, though their declared intention was to conform literally to the precepts of the gospel, were, nevertheless, inclined to introduce bigamy as not inconsistent with these precepts. Philip, Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, wanted, in the lifetime of his wife, to marry a young lady named Catharine Saal, and having some scruples of conscience, *though in every other respect a man of good sense*, he seemed to believe that the approbation of Luther

* He who marries two wives commits bigamy; if more than two, it is polygamy.

and his brethren, could set aside the moral turpitude of marrying two wives. He, therefore, represented to them his case, told them, that his wife, the princess of Savoy, was ugly; had bad smells about her, often got drunk; that his constitution was such as laid him under the frequent necessity of gratifying his appetite; and concluded with some artful hints, that unless they granted him a dispensation to marry another wife, he would ask it of the pope. Luther upon this convoked a synod of six reformers, who found that polygamy had been practised by a Roman emperor, and by several of the kings of the Franks; that marriage was only a civil compact, and that the gospel had nowhere in express terms commanded monogamy. They therefore signed a permission for Philip to marry another wife, which he did soon after, with the seeming consent of his first wife, the princess of Savoy. Thus Luther exercised an authority which even the most daring of the popes, in the plenitude of his apostolic power, had never ventured to attempt.

THE famous Jack of Leyden, who is so well known in history, pretending to be a
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prophet and a king, gave out that in the article of women he had a right to follow the example of the kings of Israel, by taking as many wives as he thought proper. Whether urged by privilege or inclination, we know not, but he actually proceeded so far as to marry seventeen; and had he not been cut short in the career of his glory and fanaticism, would probably have married twice that number.

Instances
of women
being al-
lowed a
variety of
husbands.

As the men have almost in all countries arrogated to themselves the power of making laws and of governing the women, they have in a great variety of places indulged in a plurality of wives, but almost entirely debarred the women from a plurality of husbands; there are, nevertheless, a few instances of their enjoying, in places where their credit and influence seem equal if not superior to their husbands, this privilege. We have already taken notice, that in some provinces of ancient Media, the women had a plurality of husbands, as the men in others had a plurality of wives. On the coast of Malabar, a woman may have to the number of twelve husbands; and in some cantons of the Iroquois in North America, the

she may have several. Father Tanchard reports, that in the neighbourhood of Calicut, the women of the superior casts may have a variety of husbands, and that some of them actually have ten; all of whom they consider as so many slaves subjected to their personal charms. A gentleman, who has lately visited the kingdoms of Bantam and Thibet, observes, that all the males of a family are frequently served by one wife. Institutions like these, as they militate against the jurisdiction of the men, and are deviations from the custom of all other countries, must have originated from extraordinary and uncommon circumstances; but what these were, or when they took place, are among the desiderata of history, which are never likely to be cleared up.

It would only be treading the path, which hundreds have trod before us, should we attempt here to recite all the arguments that have been used for and against polygamy; the greatest part of those against it, have turned upon this hinge, that all men are by nature equal, and have consequently an equal right to a wife; that the two sexes are nearly equal in number; and where one

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man marries a variety of women, there can be none left for several others. We pretend not to favour polygamy, as we think it far from being either natural or political; but we cannot help observing one circumstance, which we do not recollect to have met with, that in the countries where it is practised, it becomes in some degree necessary, on account of the great number of eunuchs, which make the number of women greatly exceed that of the men; so that while the infamous practice of making eunuchs is allowed, polygamy must be allowed also, otherwise many women must for ever want husbands.

Conse-
quences
of purcha-
sing wives,
what.

WHEREVER women are purchased for money; wherever they have not power to prevent the practices of polygamy and concubinage, the treatment they receive from their husbands is greatly influenced by these circumstances. A man thinks it hard, if he has not the liberty of disposing of what he purchased, when he is no longer pleased with it: hence, wives that are bought, are generally divorced at pleasure; and what seems still less natural, they are sometimes borrowed and lent, like a piece of money,
or

or of furniture. The Spartans lent a wife with as much indifference, as they would have done a horse, or an ass; and the elder Cato is said to have philosophised himself into the same custom. Where polygamy is practised, women are but of little consequence in society; husbands, therefore, take the liberty of ruling them more with the iron rod of a tyrant, than the love and affection of an husband.

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MATRIMONY, in all nations, being a compact between a male and female, for the purpose of continuing the species, the first and most necessary obligation of it has been thought fidelity; but, by various people, this fidelity has been variously understood. Almost all nations, ancient and modern, have agreed in requiring the most absolute unconditional fidelity on the part of the woman; while, on that of the man, greater latitude has been given. Civilians, who have endeavoured to assign a reason for this difference, tell us, that the hand of severity is held so closely over the incontinence of married women, and so much latitude given to the men, because the men generally have the care of providing for the

More latitude given to men than to women in the married state.

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XXVII.



the offspring; and it would be hard that a man should be obliged to provide for, and leave his estate to children, which he could never with certainty call his own, were the same indulgence given to the women as to the men. A shorter way of explaining the matter would have been, to have said, that men are generally the legislators. Where women have shared in the legislation, they have put their own sex on a more equal footing with ours.

Power of
husbands.

WHERE civil society has made little or no progress, the distinguishing characteristic of power is to tyrannize over weakness. Hence the men, till they are softened by politeness, and taught by custom to do otherwise, commonly enslave and oppress the women. In what we have already related, so many proofs of this have occurred, that we need not again have recourse to particular instances. We shall therefore go on to observe, that besides the illegal advantages, which power is ever apt to assume, over weakness; as men were almost every where the lawgivers, most of the legal advantages of matrimony were also on their side. Whoever among the Jews had

had married a wife, could not, on any account, be forced to leave her for the space of one year. Among the Romans, even in their most polished state, in certain cases, the husband might proceed so far as to punish his wife by death. Amongst almost every savage people, whipping, and even death itself, are frequently inflicted by an enraged husband. In a council of the Christian prelates and clergy, held in the year 400, it was decreed, that if any clergyman's wife had sinned, her husband should keep her bound, and fasting in his house; only he should not take away her life. This was giving an unlimited liberty to husbands; every man might easily charge his wife with having sinned, and consequently might punish her at his discretion.

THE Brazilians take as many wives as they think proper, dismiss them when they find it convenient, and punish their incontinence with death. The Canadians, in some places, cut off the tip of their noses, and making a circular incision on the crown of their heads, take off a piece of the scalp, for the same crime. In Europe, the power of a husband is considerably extended by
the

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XXVII.

the laws of the gospel, and of the constitution, both over the person and property of his wife; but this power is generally executed with so much lenity and indulgence, that a stranger, on seeing a spouse and his loving rib together, would be apt to imagine it was placed on her side. This is owing, in some measure, to politeness, as well as to fortune. For such is the power of fortune over the conduct of the human species to each other, that it constantly commands at least the external appearance of deference to the possessor. Wherever, therefore, portions are fashionable, they obliterate the slavery of a wife to her husband, put a stop to polygamy, and discountenance concubinage; for what woman will voluntarily purchase a tyrant, or give the whole of her fortune for the share only of a husband; which share she must maintain against an unlimited number of rivals. While an European wife, therefore, bringing an acquisition of wealth along with her, is treated by her husband as his equal, and frequently honoured with superior notice, the wife of an Eastern, being purchased, is considered as his slave; is never allowed to eat with him; seldom to sit down in his company, and
always

always obliged to behave to him as to a master and superior: and not even content with her paying him all these testimonies of respect in his presence, she is obliged to submit to a variety of mortifications in his absence. “If a man,” says the Gentoo laws, “goes on a journey, his wife shall not divert herself, nor play, nor shall see any public show, nor shall laugh, nor shall dress herself in jewels and fine cloaths, nor shall see dancing, nor hear music, nor shall sit in the window, nor shall ride out, nor shall behold any thing choice and rare; but shall fasten well the house-door, and remain private, and shall not eat any dainty victuals, and shall not blacken her eyes with eye-powder, and shall not view her face in a mirror; she shall never exercise herself in any such agreeable employment during the absence of her husband.” For all these mortifications, one would naturally expect some kind treatment and indulgence from the husband, when he returns home: but the contrary is the case; for we are also informed by the same laws, that if she scolds him, he may turn her away; that he may do the same, if she quarrels with any body else, spoils his or her property, or

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even if she presumes to eat before he has finished his meal; and that he may cease from all further conjugal duty, if she is barren, or always brings forth daughters.

BUT besides assigning to a wife these mortifications, superstition furnished the Hindoo also with a method, which he supposed would infallibly detect her infidelity in his absence. When he went abroad, he twisted together, in a particular manner, two branches of *Retem*; if on his return he found them exactly as he left them, he was perfectly satisfied that she had been chaste; but if any accident had in the least altered or discomposed them, all the proofs which heaven and earth were able to afford, could not vindicate her innocence, or save her from his chastisement. Nor was the power of a husband exerted over his wife only when she proved unfaithful to his bed, it extended to a variety of other circumstances. If she went out of the house without his consent. If she entered into the house of a stranger. If she held discourse with any other man than a *Takier*. If she appeared with her bosom uncovered, and with garments that did not reach from the
calf


calf of her leg to the middle of her waist. CHAP.
XXVII.
 If she laughed without drawing a veil over her face. If she stood at the door, or looked out at the window, in all these, and a variety of other cases, she was liable to be turned away, or corrected.

ALTHOUGH the men have constantly assumed the power of making human, and explaining divine, laws, yet they have not left such women as entered into the state of matrimony entirely without privileges. Privilege
of wives.
 Among the Jews, when a man married an additional wife, the food, raiment, and duty of a husband, he was in no ways to diminish to those he had before. Mahomet, when he permitted every man to have four wives, easily foreseeing that some of them would be neglected, while others were greater favourites, positively instituted, that every thing, as provisions, dress, and the duty of a husband, should be equally divided among them. In the Maldivian isles, a man is allowed to marry three wives, and is obliged to observe the same law. This law appears to have been made among the Jews, in order to prevent the increase of polygamy, which was every day becoming

Y y 2 more

more common; and the last clause of it particularly seems to have been well calculated for that purpose.

AT what period, or by whom, the laws of the Egyptians were first promulgated, is uncertain; but if what has been asserted by some ancient authors be true, that the men, in their marriage contracts, promised obedience to their wives, we may suppose that the women had no inconsiderable share in the legislation, otherwise they could hardly have obtained so singular a privilege. But, singular as this privilege may appear, it is yet exceeded by the power of wives in the Marian islands: there, a wife is absolutely mistress of every thing in the house, not the smallest article of which can the husband dispose of without her permission; and if he proves ill-humoured, obstinate, or irregular in his conduct, the wife either corrects, or leaves him altogether, carrying all her moveables, property, and children along with her. Should a husband surprise his wife in adultery, he may kill her gallant, but by no means must use her ill. But should a wife detect her husband in the same crime, she may condemn him to what
punish-

punishment she pleases ; and to execute her CHAP.
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 vengeance, she assembles all the women in 
 the neighbourhood, who, with their husbands' caps on their heads, and armed with lances, march to the house of the culprit, tear up all his plants, destroy his grain, and having ruined every thing without doors, fall like furies upon his house, and destroy it, together with the owner, if he is not already fled. But besides this punishment inflicted on his incontinence, if the wife does not like her husband, she complains that she cannot live with him, and gathers together her relations, who, gläd of the opportunity, plunder his house, and appropriate to the wife and to themselves the spoil. Such privileges, however, we cannot suppose to be legal, as the inhabitants of the Marian islands are too rude to have many laws, and too little under the subjection of their governors, to observe those they have.

SUCH of the officers of the Grand Seignior as are married to his daughters or sisters, are honoured in public, but in private debased by the alliance ; for they are not allowed to come into, nor sit down in
 the

CHAP.
XXVII.



the company, of their wives, without permission, and almost in every particular are obliged to act in a character little less subordinate than the meanest of their slaves; nay, so far is their subjection carried, that according to a writer of the last century, when the Grand Seignior gives a daughter, or a sister, in marriage, he makes the following speech: "I give thee this man to be thy
" slave; and if he offend thee in any case,
" or be disobedient to thy will, I give thee
" this dagger to cut off his head;" and it is added, that she constantly wears the dagger, as a sign of the power conferred upon her. Among the Natches, the daughters of nobles are by law obliged to marry into obscure families, that they may exert a governing and directing power over their husbands; which they do so effectually, that they turn them away when they please, and replace them by others of the same station. Such is their punishment for the slightest offences against the majesty of their wives; but when any of them are unfaithful to the marriage-bed, those wives have a power of life or death over them. Wives who are of the blood of their great son, or chief, may have as many gallants as they please, nor must
their

their dastardly husbands so much as seem to see it, But this is not all: such husbands must, while in the presence of their wives, stand in the most respectful posture, accost them in the most submissive tone, and are not allowed to eat with them, nor derive any privilege from so exalted an alliance, but exemption from labour, which is more than counterbalanced by every species of debasement and mortification. The Moxes, a people also of North America, are said to be obliged, by law, to yield a most obsequious obedience to their wives, and to shift their habitations, and follow them, when, and to whatever place they chuse to remove.

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In Holland, where frugality and industry not only mark the character of almost every individual, but even also of the legislative power, an extraordinary privilege is vested in fathers. To prevent the prodigality of their children, they may imprison such of them as they apprehend are likely to spend their fortunes. Husbands may exercise a similar authority over their wives. But what is still more extraordinary, and distinguishes their code of legislation from that of

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of every other people in Europe; wives may on the same account imprison their husbands. The laws, however, have in such cases, cautiously guarded them from suffering in this manner through cruelty or wantonness of power, they require the most undeniable evidence, that the wife and her family are in danger of being ruined, before a magistrate will deprive the husband of his liberty. Laws the most favourable to liberty do not uniformly mark the legislation of Republics, there is not, perhaps, in the most despotic kingdom on the globe, an institution more calculated to destroy freedom, than to vest the power of depriving of it, in the hands of private persons.

AMONG the ancient Germans, and other northern nations, we have seen that women were in general honoured and esteemed, but we have no account of their wives being distinguished by any particular privilege. Among a few of their tribes, however, who allowed of polygamy, one of the wives always claimed and exercised a superiority over the rest; but if she survived her husband, her prerogative was dearly purchased, she was obliged to burn herself on his funeral pile.

pile. In Turkey, the privilege of a lawful wife is, that she can claim her husband every Friday night; but every other night he may, if he pleases, dedicate to his concubines. Even among the Hindoos, where women have little regard paid to them but as the instruments of animal pleasure, the property of a wife is secured from her husband; and we are told by their laws, that he may not take it without her consent, unless on account of sickness, or to satisfy the demands of a creditor, who has confined him without victuals; and that if, on any other account, he should seize on it, he shall be obliged to repay it with interest.

As fidelity to the marriage-bed, especially on the part of the woman, has always been considered as one of the most essential duties of matrimony, all wise legislators, in order to secure that fidelity, have annexed some punishment to the breach of it; these punishments, however, have generally some reference to the manner in which wives are acquired, and to the value stamped upon them by civilization and politeness of manners. It is ordained by the Mosaic code, that both the man and the woman taken in

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adultery shall be stoned to death; whence it would seem, that no more latitude was given to the one than the other. But this was not the case; such an unlimited power of concubinage was conferred on the men, that we may suppose him highly licentious indeed, who could not be satisfied therewith, without committing adultery. The Egyptians, among whom women were greatly esteemed, had a singular method of punishing adulterers of both sexes; they cut off the privy parts of the man, that he might never be able to debauch another woman; and the nose of the woman, that she might never be the object of temptation to another man. According to Spelman, a law of a similar nature was issued by Canute, ordering the nose and ears of that woman to be cut off, who cohabited with any man besides her own husband.

PUNISHMENTS nearly of the same nature, and perhaps nearly about the same time, were instituted in the East Indies against adulterers; but while those of the Egyptians originated from a love of virtue and of their women, those of the Hindoos probably arose from jealousy and revenge. It is ordained
by

by their laws, “ that if a man commit adultery with a woman of a superior cast, he shall be put to death. If by force he commit adultery with a woman of an equal or inferior cast, the magistrate shall confiscate all his possessions, cut off his genitals, and cause him to be carried round the city, mounted on an ass. If by fraud he commit adultery with a woman of an equal or inferior cast, the magistrate shall take his possessions, brand him in the forehead, and banish him the kingdom.” Such are the laws of this people, so far as they regard all the superior casts, except the Bramins; but if any of the most inferior casts commit adultery with a woman of the casts greatly superior, he is not only to be dismembered, but tied on a hot iron plate, and burnt to death; whereas the highest casts may commit adultery with the very lowest, for the most trifling fine; and a Bramin, or priest, can only suffer by having the hair of his head cut off; and, like the clergy of Europe while under the dominion of the Pope, he cannot be put to death for any crime whatever. But the laws, of which he is always the interpreter, are not so favourable to his wife; they inflict a severe

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disgrace upon her, if she commit adultery with any of the higher casts; but if with the lowest, “the magistrate shall cut off her hair, anoint her body with *Ghee*, and cause her to be carried through the whole city, naked, and riding upon an ass; and shall cast her out on the north side of the city, or cause her to be eaten by dogs. If a woman of any of the other casts goes to a man, and entices him to have criminal correspondence with her, the magistrate shall cut off her ears, lips, and nose, mount her upon an ass, and drown her, or throw her to the dogs.” To the commission of adultery with a dancing-girl, or prostitute, no punishment nor fine is annexed. Unless we were thoroughly acquainted with the ideas entertained of riding upon an ass, we cannot pretend to say why it should have been a punishment inflicted on adulterers; but the instances we have now given, are not the only ones we meet with in history, where it was applied to this purpose. Plutarch tells us, that the Cumæans set a woman taken in adultery upon an ass, and led her round the city, accounting her ever after infamous, and nicknaming her the ass rider. The Pisidians treated an adulterer in the same

same manner as the Cumceans did an adulterers, and stigmatized him with the same degree of infamy.

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It is worth remarking here, that the word adultery, which among all other nations is understood to mean an illicit correspondence between married people, among the Hindoos is extended to every species of illicit commerce between the sexes; nor is it less remarkable, that among this people, the passions are so warm and ungovernable, that every opportunity of committing this crime, is considered as an actual commission of it. They have three distinct species of adultery. The first is, “when in a place where there are no other men, a person holds any conversation with a woman, and winks, and gallantries, and smiles pass on both sides; or the man and woman hold conversation together in the morning, or in the evening, or at night, or the man dallies with the woman’s cloaths, or when they are together in a garden; or an unfrequented place, or bathe together in the same pool.” The second is, “when a man sends sandal wood, or a string of beads, or victuals and drink, or cloaths, or gold,

or

Eastern  
ideas of  
adultery.

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“ or jewels, to a woman.” The third is,  
 “ when a man and woman sleep and dally  
 “ upon the same carpet, or in some retired  
 “ place, kiss and embrace, and play with  
 “ each other’s hair; or when the man car-  
 “ ries the woman into a retired place, and  
 “ the woman says nothing.” Such are the  
 definitions of adultery in the laws of the  
 Hindoos; but in the punishments annexed  
 to them, it appears that their legislature  
 was not directed so much by the moral tur-  
 pitude of the crime, as by the dignity of  
 the several casts, and by that revenge which  
 so naturally results from jealousy, in a cli-  
 mate where animal love is the predominant  
 passion.

By the laws of Moses, when a man  
 caught a betrothed virgin in the field, and  
 lay with her, he only was put to death; as  
 the law in that case supposed, that she had  
 cried and there was none to help her. But  
 in the city, if any one lay with a betrothed  
 virgin, they were both stoned; for then the  
 law supposed, that if she had cried, she  
 would have found assistance to save her from  
 the ravisher. So great was the abhorrence  
 of adultery in the first ages, that most of  
 the



the ancient legislators prohibited it by the severest penalties ; and there are still extant some Greek copies of the Decalogue, where this prohibition is placed before that against murder, supposing it to be the greater crime.

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IN the heroic ages, while revenge was almost the only principle that actuated the Greeks, adultery was frequently punished by murder. In the Italian states, in Spain and Portugal, though they have proper laws for the punishment of this crime, revenge considers them as too mild, and cruelly watches an opportunity of stabbing the offender. In no case has the principle of revenge operated more strongly on the human mind than in the punishment of this crime. When the Levite's wife was defiled, it incited the Israelites to take arms, and almost to destroy the whole tribe of Benjamin, because they refused to give up the adulterers. Thyestes having debauched the wife of his brother Atreus, Atreus invited him to a feast, and in revenge entertained him with the flesh of his own son. Margaret of Burgundy, queen to Lewis Hutin king of France,

was

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was hanged for adultery ; but not contented with the death of her gallants, they were ordered to be flead alive.

So greatly does a man reckon himself dishonoured and affronted by the infidelity of his wife, and so strong is the principle of revenge, that the punishment of female adulterers will frequently not wait for the cool and dilatory sentence of the law, which does not keep pace with the vengeance which the husband reckons due to the crime. In some places, the execution of this law is left to the husband. The Novels of Justinian gave a husband a right to kill any person whom he suspected of abusing his bed, after he had given him three times warning in writing before witnesses, not to converse with her. Among the ancient Swedes and Danes, if a husband caught his wife in the act of adultery, he might kill her, and castrate her gallant. And among some of the tribes of Tartars, it was not uncommon for a husband to destroy his wife even upon suspicion. Some of the eastern chiefs, on suspicion of the infidelity of their wives and concubines, order them to be buried up to the chin, and left to expire in the utmost agony.

agony. The Grand Seignior, if he suspects any of his women, orders her to be sewed in a sack, and thrown into the next river. Among the ancient Germans, the husband had a power of instantly inflicting punishment on his adulterous wife; he cut off her hair in the presence of her relations, drove her naked out of his house, and whipped her through the city. In the kingdom of Benin, the husband exercises a similar power. Somewhat less severe is the punishment of an adulteress in several other countries, where the sense of honour is less acute. The Chinese, a phlegmatic kind of people, sell an adulteress for a slave. Their neighbours of Laos do the same. And in old times, even the king of Wales thought a full reparation was made for the dishonour of defiling his bed, by obliging the offender to pay a rod of pure gold, of the thickness of the finger of a ploughman, who had ploughed nine years, and which would reach from the ground to the king's mouth when sitting. Adulterers are at this time in England and several other countries, punished by a fine, as a compensation to the husband for having injured his honour. Such a mode of punishment, however, sometimes opens a door to

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one of the most infamous practices; it tempts an unworthy husband to make a market of the incontinence of his wife. Among the modern Jews, an adulterer is in winter immersed in cold water several days together, without any regard to the severity of the season; and obliged to stand there till an egg is boiled hard. In summer his punishment is still more remarkable; he is stripped naked, and exposed to be stung for some days by bees and ants. By an ancient law of England, an adulterer became the property of the king, who might put him to hard labour at home, or employ him in the wars abroad.

Various  
ideas of  
the criminality of  
adultery:

IN what has been now observed, we see the gradation of the ideas concerning adultery. Among some people it is thought a crime not to be expiated but with death; among others whipping is reckoned a sufficient punishment; others again think a fine fully compensates for it; while in some savage countries, it is not considered as having the smallest degree of criminality. In Louisiana, Pegu, Siam, Cambodia, and Cochin-China, it is even looked upon as an honour; they present to strangers their wives and daughters,


daughters, and think it a disgrace to their beauty and merit if they are refused. Herodotus mentions a people called Gendanes, whose wives gloried so much in their debauchery, that they were authorized to add an additional border to their garment for every new lover; and she who wore the greatest number of these borders, was most envied by her own sex, and esteemed by ours.

WHERE the punishment of adultery is vested in the laws of the country, it is commonly less severe, than where vested in the hands of the party offended; and even when in the hands of the offended, it is commonly more or less severe according to the ideas entertained of women, and to the power assumed over them; where it is vested in the hands of the women, though it may not be more severe than when in those of their husbands, yet as their passions and jealousies are stronger, they are apt to inflict it where the certainty of the guilt is not so well ascertained.

OF all the modes which have been adopted for the punishment of adultery, with the greatest efficacy, and at the same time with

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the least seeming severity, we give the preference to these which follow: Edgar king of England enacted, that an adulterer of either sex should, for the space of seven years, live three days every week upon bread and water. Canute, in the beginning of his reign, finding that the punishment then in use of cutting off the nose and the ears, did not answer the purpose; decreed, that such as broke their conjugal vow should be condemned to perpetual celibacy. A similar idea for the punishment of the same crime, has suggested itself to the Muskohge Americans, a people noway famous for ingenuity in legislation; they oblige the adulterers to observe the strictest continence during four full moons from the time that her crime was discovered. Perhaps this idea of a mild and efficacious punishment was more perfectly conceived by the Greeks, than in any of the foregoing instances. In some of their states, a woman offending in this manner, was never after allowed to adorn herself with fine cloaths, and if she did, any one might tear them off, and beat her, so as not to destroy or disable her; adulteresses were subject to the same treatment if they were found in the temples of  
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the gods, and their husbands were forbid CHAP.  
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ever to cohabit with them under the pain of   
being declared infamous.

WE might easily insert here, a variety of other methods of punishing adultery, but as these few convey a tolerable idea of the sentiments entertained of this crime in different periods, and by different people, we shall proceed to observe, that the canon law, following rather the footsteps of Moses than of Jesus, always condemned adulterers to death: one of the canons has these remarkable words, "Let adulterers be stoned, that they may cease to increase, who will not cease to be defiled." And Pope Sixtus Quintus, not content with the death of adulterers themselves, ordained, that such husbands as knew their wives to be unfaithful, and did not complain to him, should be put to death also. Amid all this seeming regard for conjugal fidelity and sanctity of manners, we are sorry to observe, that the clergy of the middle ages, while they enacted canons against, and punished adultery with excommunication, were themselves a kind of licensed adulterers. Debarred from marriage, regardless of character, and exempted from

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Reasons  
of divorce  
in various  
countries.

nature of the matrimonial engagement; for when a man purchased his wife as he did a slave, it naturally followed that he might turn her off when he found that she did not answer the purpose for which he intended her. But in countries where the natural rights of women are established, where the bargain is between the man and his wife, is conditional, and the fortunes of both are joined in one common stock, the nature of this bargain implies, that neither of them are privileged to dismiss the other without a just cause. In many parts of the world, this cause has been construed to be a mutual dislike of the parties, and a mutual consent of separation; in others it is barrenness of the woman. In most places of Europe, no cause has been deemed valid, except adultery and impotence. The French have reckoned inequality of rank and fortune, a sufficient cause of divorce; as if the laws of heaven were regulated by the number of lewis d'ors, or the title bestowed by a prince. The Turks, in direct opposition to this custom, take wives from their own slaves, and never suppose that difference of condition can interfere with happiness, or be the cause of separation. Several of the primitive councils enjoined



enjoined a husband, for the salvation of his soul, and on pain of spiritual censure, to put away his adulterous wife. The council of Trent, of a widely different opinion, not only decreed that the marriage-bond was indissoluble, but also pronounced an Anathema against all who should presume to think, that affairs relating to marriage were cognizable in any other than an ecclesiastical court\*; notwithstanding this, the Pope, who frequently arrogated to himself a power of trampling on all the laws of heaven and earth, frequently dissolved marriages either with or without cause, when it suited his interest, or the parties were able to give him a handsome reward; while the poor plaintiff could not be admitted to a hearing, at the chair of him who styles himself *servant of servants*.

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ENGLISH lawyers, ever fond of verbosity and endless distinctions, have divided di-

\* It is remarkable that the council of Trent did not issue this decree as their own opinion, or as the mandate of the scripture, but said it was the decree of our original progenitor Adam, who had likewise ordained, that only one man and one woman should be joined together. In what archives did the reverend fathers find this decree? They must have been excellent antiquarians!

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divorces into two kinds; the first, when the party is divorced from bed and board, but not allowed to marry again; the second, when he or she is divorced or loosened from the chains of matrimony, and allowed to marry again at pleasure: but neither of these kind of divorces can be obtained by any other means than a proof of adultery. Milton, and several other writers who followed him, galled by the indissoluble chain which they thought themselves intitled to break, have endeavoured, by a variety of arguments, to shew, that equity, natural justice, and sound policy, all dictate, that the matrimonial compact ought to be dissolved from a variety of other causes besides adultery. The legislature has, however, hitherto taken no notice of these arguments. *When philosophy and reason have still farther enlightened the human mind, they may perhaps undergo a scrutiny, and from that scrutiny, some new regulations may arise.*

Power of  
divorcing  
some-  
times ves-  
ted in the  
wives.

IN rude and uncultivated states of society, we have seen that the power of divorce is placed in the husband; in civil society, it is vested in the law; but in some states it

appears to have been occupied by, and in others formerly vested in, the women. Josephus tell us, that Salome, sister to Herod the Great, was the first who took upon her to repudiate her husband, and that her example was soon followed by many others; this we may also learn from Juvenal, who says,

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While the last wedding-feast is scarcely o'er,
And garlands hang yet green upon the door;
So still the reck'ning rises, and appears
In total sum, eight husbands in five years.

And of Martial, who declares that,

Within the space of thirty days were led
Ten husbands gay, to Thelesina's bed.

Among the Cherokees, the women are said to marry as many husbands as they think proper, and to change and divorce them at pleasure; a custom, which with little variation, we have already seen practised by the women of several other countries.

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*The same Subject continued.*C H A P.
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THOUGH we have seen in the course of our enquiry, that the ideas of the matrimonial compact, and of the duties and privileges of the parties entering into it, have been very different in different periods, and among different people; yet, as any regulation of the commerce between the sexes is better than a vague and undetermined commerce, every well governed state has solicitously endeavoured either to promote that kind of matrimony already in use, or to rectify its errors, and model it in a new and better manner.

IN some countries matrimony was considered as an almost indispensable obligation upon the fair sex, hence the Israelitish damsels bewailed their virginity, when death was likely to snatch them from the world in their virgin state; but they were not the only women who reckoned perpetual virginity a misfortune. The ancient Persians were

were of opinion, that matrimony was fo
essentially necessary, that such of either sex
as died single must infallibly be unhappy in
the next world. This opinion gave birth to
the most singular custom we meet with in
history. When any one died unmarried, a
relation, or, in default of such, a person
hired for the purpose, was solemnly married
to the deceased, as soon as it could conveni-
ently be done after death, as the only re-
compence now left for having neglected
it in life.

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RIDICULOUS as a marriage of this kind
must be when viewed in the eye of reason,
the two following instances are, perhaps, still
more so, and shew what follies mankind may
be led into by ignorance and vanity. The
Canadians, before they use their sein, or
great net, marry it to two young virgins;
and having prepared a marriage-feast, while
they are regaling themselves with it, place
the sein between the brides, tell it what ho-
nour they have conferred on it, exhort it to
be grateful, and take them plenty of fish;
and further, to induce it to comply with
their wishes, they make some presents to the
fathers of the damsels, to whom they have
joined

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joined it, and promise them more, that interest, as well as gratitude, may conspire to make it perform its duty. The Doge of Venice is annually married to the sea; the ceremony is performed with great pomp and solemnity; the Doge drops a gold ring from the stern of his ship, and says, "We espouse thee, O sea! in sign of our perpetual dominion over thee."

THE Turks of this present period at Constantinople, reckoning the first great command, "increase and multiply," the most necessary of all others, entertain the same opinion of virginity as the Persians, though they take no such ridiculous methods of endeavouring to obviate the effects of it on their future happiness. "Every woman," say they, "was made to have as many children as she can, she, therefore, who dies unmarried, dies in state of reprobation." Virginity was likewise reckoned a misfortune and disgrace by the Greek women; Sophocles introduces Electra bewailing her hard fate in not being married; and Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, being angry with his daughter for dissuading him from going to meet Orates, governor of Sardis,

Sardis, threatens her, that should he return in safety, he would defer given her in marriage for a long time. But this female dislike to living single, has not been peculiar to any period or people, it has universally prevailed among the sex. In many nations, laws have been promulgated to prompt the men to enter into matrimony, to prompt the women none have ever been needed. "Young women," says the celebrated Montesquieu, "who are conducted by marriage alone to liberty and pleasure, have sufficient inducements to lead them on to that state; it is the young men that want to be encouraged."

A VARIETY of encouragements have accordingly been offered by the wisest legislators to tempt young men into matrimony; but lest these should not be sufficient, disagreeable circumstances, and even punishments, have been also annexed to the state of a bachelor. The Lacedemonians were not only severe against those who abstained from, but also against those who deferred, entering into the conjugal state. No man among them could live single beyond the time appointed by the laws of his country, without

Matrimony encouraged by all the Greeks.

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without incurring several penalties. Old batchelors were obliged once every winter to run naked round the market-place, singing a song which was expressive of their crime, and exposed them to ridicule. They were excluded from the games where the Spartan virgins, according to the custom of their country, danced naked: On a certain solemnity, the women, in revenge for the contempt which was shewn them, were allowed to drag these despisers of matrimony round an altar, beating them all the time with their fists; and lastly, they were deprived of all that honour and respect which the young men of Greece were obliged to pay to their seniors. One of their old captains coming into an assembly, when he expected that a young man by whom he stood would have risen to give him his seat, received this rebuke from him: "Sit, you
" must not expect that honour from me;
" being young, which cannot be returned
" to me by a child of yours when I am
" old." In Athens there was a law ordain-
ing, that public offices should not be given
to any but such as were married, and had
children; this law did not only prompt
the men to marry, but gave the state a
kind

kind of security for their good behaviour in their wives and children. A law something similar to this now exists in Switzerland, where no batchelor can hold any lucrative employment.

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THE Jews were of opinion, that marriage was an indispensable duty implied in the words, "increase and multiply;" a man, therefore, who did not marry at or before the age of twenty, was considered as accessory to every irregularity which the young women for want of husbands might be tempted to commit; and hence there is a proverb in the Talmud: "Who is he that prostitutes his daughter, but he who keeps her too long unmarried, or gives her to an old man." Among the ancient Persians, though there was no positive law for the encouragement of matrimony, yet their kings frequently proposed annual prizes as a reward to those who were fathers of the greatest number of children.

Encouraged also by all other well regulated States,

In the code of Hindoo laws, justice, equity, and good faith, are every where strongly inculcated; but of so great importance did the legislator reckon marriages,

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riages, that he even dispensed with good faith and veracity, in order to promote them. “If a marriage,” say the Pundits, “for any person be obtained by false witnesses, such falsehood may be told upon the day of celebrating the marriage, if on that day the marriage is liable to be incomplete, for want of giving certain articles. At that time, if three or four falsehoods be asserted, it does not signify. Or if on the day of marriage, a man promises to give his daughter many ornaments, and is not able to give them, such falsehoods as these, if told to promote a marriage, are allowable.”

WHILE the Romans retained their primitive simplicity and integrity, no laws were requisite to encourage their young men to marry; when they became debauched with the love of pleasure, and expensive in the pursuit of it; when their wives required immense sums to uphold their extravagance, and their children scarcely less to give them a proper education, neither threatenings nor encouragements could sometimes prevail on them to enter into that state. In no country was there ever a legislature more forward in attempting to encourage matrimony

matrimony, in none were the subjects ever less forward in seconding these attempts.

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As soon as luxury and expence had begun to frighten, and licentious pleasures to decoy the Roman citizens from marriage, to counterbalance these, it was thought necessary to deny such men as had not entered into that alliance the privilege of giving evidence in courts of justice; and the first question asked by the judge was, Upon your faith, have you a wife, whereby you may have children? If he answered in the negative, his evidence was refused. And so intent were the Roman consuls at one time upon multiplying their citizens, that they extorted from all the men an oath, that they would not marry with any other view than that of increasing the subjects of the republic, and that whoever had a barren wife should put her away and marry another. But the men, who had other opportunities of satisfying their appetites than that of marriage, continued still fond of celibacy, which obliged the censors, upon finding that population was decreasing, to extort another oath from them, that they would marry with all convenient speed.



As it commonly happens that oaths extorted by compulsion are but ill observed, unless the same compulsory power also enforces obedience to them. These imposed upon the Romans had but little effect; to remedy which, new honours were heaped upon the married, and fines and punishments were laid upon the batchelors. It was ordained, That such of the plebeians as had wives, should have a more honourable place in the theatres than such as had none; that the married magistrates and patricians should have the precedence of such of the same rank as were unmarried; and that the fines which had been first levied by Camillus and Posthumus upon batchelors, should be again exacted.

WHEN Julius Cæsar had subdued all his competitors, and most of the foreign nations which made war against him, he found that so many Romans had been destroyed in the quarrels in which he had engaged them, that, to repair the loss, he promised rewards to fathers of families, and forbid all Romans who were above twenty, and under forty years of age, to go out of their native country. Augustus, his successor, to check the
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the debauchery of the Roman youth, laid CHAP.
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city



city might perish for them. Nor by that of Romans, for they seemed determined to let the race and name become extinct. But by whatever name he called them, their crime, he said, equalled all other crimes put together, for they were guilty of murder, in not suffering those to be born who should proceed from them. Of impiety, in abolishing the names and honours of their fathers and ancestors. Of sacrilege, in destroying their species, and human nature, which owed its original to the gods, and was consecrated to them; that by leading a single life they overturned, as far as in them lay, the temples and altars of the gods; dissolved the government by disobeying its laws; betrayed their country by making it barren. Having ended his speech, he doubled the rewards and privileges of such as had children, and laid a heavy fine on all unmarried persons, by reviving the Popæan law.

THOUGH by this law all the males above a certain age were immediately obliged to marry under a severe penalty, Augustus allowed them the space of a full year to comply with its demands. But such was the

the backwardness to matrimony, and perversity of the Roman knights, and others, that every possible method was taken to evade the penalty inflicted upon them, and some of them even married children in the cradle for that purpose. Thus fulfilling the letter, they avoided the spirit of the law, and though actually married, had no restraint upon their licentiousness, nor any encumbrance by the expence of a family.

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SUCH were the methods the Romans were obliged to make use of, in order to prevent matrimony from falling almost into disuse. Among other nations, scarcely any thing compulsory has been attempted. It has generally been thought sufficient, to stain with some degree of infamy and dishonour, all kinds of illicit connection between the sexes, to make the way to the enjoyment of lawful love as easy and accessible as possible, and to trust the rest to nature. In this last respect, the English legislature has acted contrary to the common opinion of mankind, and thrown a variety of obstacles in the way that leads to matrimony. Obstacles which have been loudly complained of, and which the house of commons

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commons has attempted, but attempted in vain to remove; the bill which had passed in that house being negatived in the house of lords. Without much of the spirit of prophecy, we may, however, venture to predict, that the time will soon come, when the interest of the public will triumph over the pride of rank and opulence. By nature, all mankind are equal. The fiat of a crowned head creates an artificial distinction. Let that distinction be confined to operate on things that are artificial; good policy dictates, that it should not be allowed to operate on those that are natural.

Regulations which tend to encourage population.

As every regulation of the commerce between the sexes is intended to promote population, so every wise legislature, not solely contented with encouraging, or even enforcing matrimony, has likewise endeavoured to correct all those errors and abuses which frustrate the main intention of it, and to oblige the sexes to join themselves together in such a manner as might tend to the increase and multiplication of their species; thus the Jewish law forbade eunuchs to marry. Lycurgus enjoined the coupling together of such men and women as were strong and
healthful,

healthful, and gave a liberty of prosecuting such men as did not marry at all, as deferred marrying till they were too old, or married improperly. Thus in Rome, it was ordained, that no woman under fifty should marry a man above sixty, and that no man above sixty should marry a woman who was not like himself far advanced in life. At Geneva, a woman of forty is not suffered to marry a man ten years younger than herself, if above forty, the man must not be more than five years younger; and when a man arrives at the age of sixty, he is prohibited from marrying a woman who is under thirty. Laws of this kind, though pointed out by nature, and though evidently tending to promote the end and design of matrimony, are in other states of the modern world, scarcely, if at all, attended to.

If what has been advanced by naturalists be true, that crossing the breed, either of animals or vegetables, tends greatly to improve their strength and vigour; then it will follow, that perhaps the same reasons have prompted wise legislators, to interdict the marriages of near kindred with one another. Among the Jews, the degrees of consanguinity, within

Consanguinity, the degrees of it forbid to marry, not accurately marked.

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which it was lawful to marry, were accurately marked by the code of Moses. Among other ancient nations the affair was subject to much variation. The Egyptians were allowed to marry their sisters. The Scythians not only to marry their sisters, but even their mothers and grandmothers. The Medes and Persians married their own daughters and sisters; and among the Tartars, a man might marry his daughter, but a mother might not marry her son. Among the Huns, men, without the least regard to consanguinity, married whoever they pleased. Sons even married the widows of their fathers, a practice derived, perhaps, from remote antiquity; for Absalom went in to the wives of his father David, when he rebelled against him. Among the Arabians, when a father left one or more widows, the sons often married them, provided they were not their own mothers; and marrying the widow of a deceased brother is still customary in some parts of Tartary. The Druses of mount Libanus marry their own daughters. In Peru, the Inca, or king, was obliged to marry his eldest sister; if he had no sister, he was to marry his nearest female relation. In Otaheite, their young king was designed

as a husband to his sister, when she became marriageable. At Athens, a man might marry the sister of his father, but not of his mother. And in France, during the fifteenth century, the celebrated Count D'Armagnac was publicly married to his own sister.

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THE advantages arising from crossing the breed of men, as well as other animals, in order to preserve the species from degenerating, must have been the result of experience and observation: it would therefore be long before they were attended to; and hence, though Moses, who was inspired by the Divinity, appears to have been acquainted with them, the other nations, whom we have mentioned, were not; and, consequently, long indulged themselves in marrying as inclination, or convenience, dictated. But another political reason may be given, why the marriage of near kindred was prohibited. Before mankind were thoroughly civilized, and brought under the government of laws, families were frequently at war with one another; either on account of property, which was then unsettled, or from their natural inclination to rapine and plunder. In this state, every acquisition of



strength to a family; was an addition to its security. Instead, therefore, of marrying in his own family, or among his own kindred, who were already in his interest, a man would, from motives of policy, rather wish to take a wife from a neighbouring family, and by that means bring it into an alliance with his, a circumstance which would tend greatly to the security of both; and hence the practice of marrying kindred would fall into disuse. This conjecture seems strongly supported by the practice of the ancient Germans; they did not allow a plurality of wives to any but their kings and chiefs, whom on the contrary they solicited to marry several, to connect them in friendship with the neighbouring potentates.

BUT besides these, and other political reasons that might be given against near kindred and relations intermarrying with each other, there are also natural reasons that strongly counteract such alliances. The marriage of a father with his daughter would, in most cases, be preposterous: as the husband would generally be past the age of propagation long before his wife. The marriage of a son to his mother, besides
being

being liable to the same objection of inequality of age, would likewise confound the nature of things ; as the son ought to have an unlimited respect for his mother, and the wife an unlimited respect for her husband. But though similar reasons do not militate against the marriage of brothers and sisters with each other, yet nature herself seems here to have interposed her authority ; she seems not to have given to brothers and sisters, and other near relations, the same power of raising the passions and emotions of love in each other, as she has given to those who are less known, and nowise related. The emotions, which pass between a brother and a sister, are friendship ; in the same circumstances, between a young man and woman, not related to each other, they would be love.

WITH respect to the prohibitions, concerning the marriage of relations to each other, it is a thing extremely delicate to fix exactly the point at which the laws of nature stop. The greater part of civilized nations seem, in this respect, not to have differed widely from the directions of Moses. The Christian world has been entirely governed

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governed by the rules of that lawgiver, except in some periods, when a spirit of greater libertinism broke through the restraint, or a spirit of mistaken sanctity extended it still wider. In a council, held by pope Honorius, in the year 1126, marriages were proscribed between all relations, till after the seventh generation; and all who married within that degree, were ordered to put away their wives. Innocent the III. reduced the seven generations down to four, and the reasons he assigned for doing so, are a striking picture of these times. "There are," said he, "four elements, and four humours in a man's body, therefore he shall not marry till after the fourth generation." In the council of Trent, it was proposed, to give liberty of marrying sooner than after the fourth generation; but the proposal was thrown out by a majority. Such were the laws imposed by the Romish church upon mankind; but in these, and all other cases, the head of it reserved to himself a power of dispensing with them, and like the English, who allow nobody to abuse their kings but themselves, he and his clergy would not suffer any but themselves to infringe the laws of the Pentateuch, or the Gospel.

BESIDES

BESIDES the restrictions laid upon marriage by consanguinity and politics, there are others arising from religion. By the ancient law of Britain, a Christian of either sex who married a Jew, was to be burnt, or buried alive. At Geneva, a marriage between a protestant and a Roman catholic, is null and void. And among the Turks, a Christian is not to marry one of the disciples of Mahomet, if he does, the punishment ordained by their law is, that the woman shall be drowned, and the man have the liberty of chusing whether he will be impaled or turn Mahometan. There are others again, which seem to have arisen solely from whim and caprice. Such were these of the ancient Egyptians; who holding swine in the utmost abhorrence, would neither allow a swineherd to enter into their temples, nor give their daughters to him in marriage. Such also are those that Brama has imposed on the Hindoos, whereby both the men and women of every particular cast, are prohibited from marrying into any other cast. Such are these, which, in many periods and countries, have been laid upon the clergy, while the Israelitish laity were at liberty to marry whom they pleased, the priests were prohibited



city might perish for them. Nor by that of Romans, for they seemed determined to let the race and name become extinct. But by whatever name he called them, their crime, he said, equalled all other crimes put together, for they were guilty of murder, in not suffering those to be born who should proceed from them. Of impiety, in abolishing the names and honours of their fathers and ancestors. Of sacrilege, in destroying their species, and human nature, which owed its original to the gods, and was consecrated to them ; that by leading a single life they overturned, as far as in them lay, the temples and altars of the gods ; dissolved the government by disobeying its laws ; betrayed their country by making it barren. Having ended his speech, he doubled the rewards and privileges of such as had children, and laid a heavy fine on all unmarried persons, by reviving the Popæan law.

THOUGH by this law all the males above a certain age were immediately obliged to marry under a severe penalty, Augustus allowed them the space of a full year to comply with its demands. But such was the

the backwardness to matrimony, and perversity of the Roman knights, and others, that every possible method was taken to evade the penalty inflicted upon them, and some of them even married children in the cradle for that purpose. Thus fulfilling the letter, they avoided the spirit of the law, and though actually married, had no restraint upon their licentiousness, nor any encumbrance by the expence of a family.

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SUCH were the methods the Romans were obliged to make use of, in order to prevent matrimony from falling almost into disuse. Among other nations, scarcely any thing compulsory has been attempted. It has generally been thought sufficient, to stain with some degree of infamy and dishonour, all kinds of illicit connection between the sexes, to make the way to the enjoyment of lawful love as easy and accessible as possible, and to trust the rest to nature. In this last respect, the English legislature has acted contrary to the common opinion of mankind, and thrown a variety of obstacles in the way that leads to matrimony. Obstacles which have been loudly complained of, and which the house of commons

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BUT the restrictions we have now mentioned, are not all that are to be met with in history; the sultans of the Turkish empire, though the most absolute monarchs in the universe, have never been allowed to marry since the time of Bajazet, who, with all his wives, being made prisoners by Tamerlane, the haughty victor shut Bajazet up in an iron cage, made his wives menial servants, and obliged them to wait naked on their conqueror. An accident which reflected so much



much disgrace on the Ottoman empire, that to prevent any such from happening in time to come, the princes of that empire have never been suffered to marry, that it might never be in the power of any person to abuse their wives. But though they do not marry, they have constantly a number of women in their seraglios, and the children they have by them are all legitimate. We have already observed that the Popes have always arrogated to themselves a power of dispensing with the laws of consanguinity, but they did not stop there; when it was conducive to their interest that particular persons should remain single, they prohibited them the liberty of marrying. If no regard was paid to the prohibition, they declared the marriage null and void, and the children illegitimate. An order of this kind was sent by Paul the IV. to Joan of Arragon, forbidding her to allow any of her daughters to marry, unless he should provide them with husbands.

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deer. The Englishman, eager to have swift horses, staunch dogs, and victorious cocks, grudges no care, and spares no expence, to have the males and females matched properly. But since the days of Solon, where is the legillator, or since the times of the ancient Greeks, where are the private persons, who take any care to improve, or even to keep from degeneracy the breed of their own species? The Englishman who solicitously attends the training of his colts and puppies, would be ashamed to be caught in the nursery; and while no motive could prevail upon him to breed horses or hounds from an improper or contaminated kind, he will calmly, or rather inconsiderately, match himself with the most decrepid or diseased of the human species; thoughtless of the weakneses and evils he is going to entail on posterity, and considering nothing but the acquisition of fortune he is by her alliance to convey to an offspring, who, by diseases, will be rendered unable to use it. The Muscovites were formerly the only people, besides the Greeks, who paid a proper attention to this subject. After the preliminaries of a marriage were settled between the parents of a young couple, the bride was stript  
naked,

naked, and carefully examined by a jury of matrons, who if they found any bodily defect, endeavoured to cure it; but if it would admit of no remedy, the match was broke off, and she was considered not only as an improper subject to breed from, but improper also for maintaining the affections of a husband, after he had discovered the imposition she had put upon him.

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IN England, the marriage ceremony is not to be performed but in the church, and between the hours of eight and twelve o'clock in the forenoon. In Scotland, this is deemed incompatible with morality and sound policy, as it hinders the valetudinarian from doing all the justice in his power to the mistress he has lived with and debauched. He may therefore marry her at any hour, or in any place, and by that marriage legitimate all the children he has by her, whether they be present at the marriage or not.

In Prussia, though their code of laws seems in general to be as reasonable, and as consistent with sound policy, as any in Europe, yet we still find in it, an allowance

Left-handed  
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given for a species of that concubinage, which has long since been expelled from almost all the western world. A man may there marry what is called a left-handed wife, to whom he is married for life, and by the common ceremony\*; but with this express agreement, that neither she nor her children shall live in the house of her husband, nor shall take his name, nor bear his arms, nor claim any dower or donation usually claimed by every other wife, nor dispose of any part of his property, exert any authority over his servants, nor succeed to his estates or his titles; but shall be contented with what was agreed on for their subsistence during his life, and with what he shall give them at his death. This privilege, however, is always in the power of the king to deny, and is seldom granted to any but such of the nobility as being left with large families, from the smallness of their fortunes cannot afford to marry another legal wife, and rear up another family of the same rank with themselves.

\* The only difference in the ceremony is, the bridegroom gives her his left hand instead of his right.

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THOUGH the laws of almost every civilized country have required the consent of parents to the marriage of their children, yet when such children marry without it, the evil is considered as incapable of any remedy. The Prussian law, however, thinks otherwise; and in this case gives the parents a power of applying to the consistory, which separates the parties, obliges the man to give the woman a portion for the loss of her virginity, and contribute to the maintenance and education of the child or children of the marriage. Promises of marriage to a woman, have, in all well-regulated states, been considered as sacred, and the breach of them punished by a variety of methods. But the Prussian law proceeds in a different manner; it does not endeavour so much to punish the breach of the promise, as to enforce the performance, by the admonitions of religion, by imprisonment, by a fine of half the man's fortune, or a certain part of what he earns by his daily labour; or if he runs away to avoid the marriage, by marrying the woman to him by proxy, and allowing her a maintenance out of his effects.

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WE shall now take our leave of the subject of matrimony with a few observations on the causes of the discord and uneasiness, which frequently disturb the happiness of that state. If the satirical writers and declaimers of the present age may be credited, married women have in general arrived at such a pitch of debauchery, that few marriages are tolerably happy, and fewer husbands without the invisible marks of a cuckold. We do not pretend to justify all the wives of the present times; but on comparing them with those of the past, we find the same clamours have always existed against them; and without pretending to any spirit of prophecy, we may venture to affirm, that they will exist so long at least as marriages are contracted solely with a view to the interest of the parties, without considering whether they are possessed of any of the qualifications necessary to render each other happy; a scheme by which, tempers the most discordant are frequently joined together, though neither of them are so bad, but they might have made good husbands and wives, if they had been matched with propriety.

BUT



BUT this is far from being the only reason to which we attribute many of the unhappy marriages of this country. The basis of them is laid and established in the education of our young women, as well as in the manners and customs of our young men. Young women, instead of being taught to mix the agreeable with the useful, are early instructed to cultivate only the former, and to consider the latter as fit for none but maiden aunts, and other antiquated monitors. But this is not all, flattered by the men from their earliest infancy, they are never acquainted with the voice of truth, nor with that plain dealing which must unavoidably take place in the married state. Constantly accustomed to see a lover accost them with the most submissive air, to find him yield every point, and conform himself entirely to their will; they consider themselves as oracles of wisdom, always in the right. Taught to form their ideas of the husband, only from those of the lover; and the ridiculous notions imbibed from romances; they enter into the married state fully convinced, that every husband is through life to play the lover, and that every lover is the romantic being depicted  
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in the novels which they have read,—Ideal fancies and dreams, which must soon vanish in disappointment. Nor do the men act more wisely. Blinded for the most part by love, they consider the object of their passion as all perfection and excellence; and when they come to be undeceived, as every lover soon must, remorse and chagrin sour their tempers, and make them incapable of forgiving the cheat they think imposed upon them, or behaving with that degree of gentleness with which the stronger sex should regard the foibles, and even some of the follies of the weaker.

EVERY one who has been attentive to what passes in other nations, and to what happens here, before and after marriage, must readily acknowledge, that nothing can be more certain than the truth of the old saying. Too much familiarity breeds contempt. In order to inspire and preserve respect, it is necessary for kings and other great men to wear ensigns of grandeur, and to be attended with guards. For judges to be arrayed in the symbols of solemnity and wisdom, and for learned men never to be too free in opening the depth of their knowledge.

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The case is exactly the same, with women, and they seem sensible of it before marriage, but insensible of it afterward. Before marriage, we are seldom permitted to see them but in their gay and splendid dress, and in their most chearful and lively humour. We enter not into the penetralium of their weaknesses. We discover none of their faults, and but few of their foibles: but after their marriage, they precipitately throw aside the mask, in such a manner as to discover that they wore it only for convenience. And an intimacy with them opens to the husband, views which could not possibly fall within the inspection of the lover; hence his ideas of the same woman, when his mistress and his wife, are so widely different.

In endeavouring to explore the sources of conjugal infelicity, we may likewise observe, that few men have so successfully studied the temper of women, as to be able to manage it to the best advantage. It has long been an observation of the fair, that a reformed rake makes the best husband; and we have known instances where women after having made but indifferent wives to men

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men of probity and virtue, who seldom committed any faults, have afterwards made much better ones to rakish young fellows, whose whole lives consisted in sinning and repenting. The reason is plain; such is the temper of women, that a little well-timed flattery and submission will seldom fail of putting them into good humour; whereas the most faultless and prudent conduct cannot always keep them in it. A woman by the assistance of a few tender caresses, and protestations of future amendment, will frequently be prevailed on to forgive ten thousand faults, if she is persuaded that her husband loves her in the intervals of his folly; but she will never forgive indifference, nor contempt. Hence many of the most learned and sensible men are reckoned the worst husbands, because they frequently have more friendship than love, and more of both than they express; and many of the most wild and rakish reckoned the best, because they have more love than friendship, and express more of both than they feel.

THESE, and several others too tedious to mention in sketches of this nature, seem to be

be the sources from which matrimonial infelicity so often arises; but would the parties come together with less exalted notions of each other; would they lay their account with finding in each other a mixture of human weaknesses as well as perfection; and would they mutually forgive faults and weaknesses, matrimony would not be so incumbered with evils, nor so disturbed with strife. It is the ox that frets who galls his own neck and that of his fellow with the yoke, while the pair who draw quietly and equally, scarcely feel it inconvenient or troublesome.

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## C H A P. XXIX.

*Of Celibacy.*C H A P.  
XXIX.Opposi-  
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to matri-  
mony.

WE flatter ourselves it will not be considered as an improper appendix to the history of matrimony, to give a short view of the oppositions that have been made to it; oppositions which have arisen chiefly on pretence of religion, but which, when thoroughly examined, will, we persuade ourselves, appear to have been founded on a very different motive. The two sexes were evidently intended for each other, and “increase and multiply” was the first great command given them by the Author of nature; but suppose no such command had been given, how it first entered into the mind of man, that the propagation or continuation of the species was criminal in the eye of Heaven, is not easy to conceive. Ridiculous, however, as this notion may appear, it is one of those which early insinuated itself among mankind; and plainly demonstrated, that reasoning beings are the most apt to deviate from nature. and disobey her plainest dictates.

As the appetite towards the other sex is one of the strongest and most ungovernable in our nature. As it intrudes itself more than any other into our thoughts, and frequently diverts them from every other purpose or employment; it may, at first, on this account, have been reckoned criminal when it interfered with worship and devotion; and even emasculation may have been introduced in order to get rid of it. But however this be, it is certain, that there were men of various religions, who made themselves incapable of procreation on a religious account. The priests of Cybele constantly castrated themselves. And our Saviour says, there are eunuchs who make themselves such for the kingdom of heaven's sake. Such were the methods sometimes used by the men, to render themselves incapable of yielding to a temptation which they had not the power of resisting; while the women, even of the warmer climates of Asia, boasting of a superior fortitude and resolution, courted temptation as the warrior does the post of danger, that they might shew their strength in repelling it. They permitted in the earlier ages of christianity, priests and deacons to share their bed; and so situated,

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gloried not only in the unsullied purity of their bodies, but of their minds.

HOWEVER absurd it may appear to reason and to philosophy, it is certainly a fact, that religionists of various kinds had early got an idea, that the propagation of their species was, if not criminal, at least derogatory to their sacred function. Thus the priests of ancient Egypt were obliged, by the rules of their order, to abstain from women, though in after periods they were allowed one wife. The priests of the Mysians likewise bound themselves to celibacy; and those of the Romish church, in times more enlightened by reason, still follow the unnatural example. As if Heaven were pleased with every means of preserving the individual, and displeased with the means of continuing the species.

Origin of  
celibacy.

BUT besides the priesthood, several other religious orders of both sexes, sprung up, who vainly imagined to conciliate the favour of the Author of nature, by discontinuing his works. The Egyptians and ancient Indians had communities of Cenobites, who are supposed to have lived in celibacy.



celibacy. Strabo mentions a sect among the Thracians, that vowed perpetual abstinence from women, and were on that account revered for their sanctity. The Essenes, among the Jews, laid themselves under the same obligation. The Romans had their vestal virgins, who kept the sacred fire in the temple of the goddess of chastity, and were buried alive if they proved incontinent. The Peruvians had their virgins of the Sun, who were brought up in the temple of that luminary, and obliged to the strictest virginity, under the same penalty as the vestals among the Romans. Friga, the goddess of the ancient Scandaniyians, had also a temple where her oracles and a sacred fire were kept, by prophetesses devoted to perpetual virginity. Some tribes of the ancient Indians reckoned virginity endowed with such a power, that their most approved remedies were useless and unavailing, unless administered by the hand of a virgin; and the general opinion during some of the middle ages, seems to have been, that the mode of human propagation was one of the curses brought on the world in consequence of Adam's transgression; and that if he had preserved his innocence, he would have lived

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lived in a state of virgin purity, and have peopled paradise in a manner similar to the vegetables, with a race of happy and immortal beings.

SOON after the introduction of christianity, St. Mark is said to have founded a society called *Therapeutes*, who dwelt by the lake Moeris in Egypt, and devoted themselves to solitude and religious offices. About the year 305 of the christian computation, St. Anthony being persecuted by Dioclesian, retired into the desert near the lake Moeris; numbers of people soon following his example, joined themselves to the *Therapeutes*; St. Anthony being placed as their head, and improving upon their rules, first formed them into regular monasteries, and enjoined them to live in mortification and chastity. About the same time, or soon after, St. Synclitica, resolving not to be behind St. Anthony in her zeal for chastity, is generally believed to have collected together a number of enthusiastic females, and to have founded the first nunnery for their reception. Some imagine the scheme of celibacy was concerted between St. Anthony and St. Synclitica, as St. Anthony, on his  
first

first retiring into solitude, is said to have put his sister into a nunnery, which must have been that of St. Synclitica ; but however this be, from their first institution, monks and nuns increased so fast, that in the city of Orixæ, about seventeen years after the death of St. Anthony, there were found twenty thousand virgins devoted to perpetual virginity.

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SUCH at this time was the rage of celibacy ; a rage which, however unnatural, will cease to excite our wonder, when we consider, that it was accounted by both sexes the sure and only infallible road to heaven and eternal happiness. As such, it behoved the church vigorously to maintain and countenance it, which she did by beginning about this time to deny the liberty of marriage to her sons. In the first council of Nice, held soon after the introduction of christianity, the celibacy of the clergy was strenuously argued for, and some think that even in an earlier period it had been the subject of debate. However this be, it was not agreed to in the council of Nice, though about the end of the fourth century it is said that Syricus, bishop of Rome, enacted the first decree

Clergy  
forbid to  
marry.

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decree against the marriage of monks. A decree which was not universally received: for, several centuries after, we find that it was not uncommon for clergymen to have wives. Even the popes were allowed this liberty, as it is said in some of the old statutes of the church, That it is lawful for the pope to marry a virgin for the sake of having children. So exceedingly difficult is it to combat against nature, that little regard seems to have been paid to this decree of Syricus; for we are informed, that several centuries after, it was no uncommon thing for the clergy to have wives, and perhaps even a plurality of them; as we find it among the ordonnances of pope Sylvester, that every priest should be the husband of one wife only; and Pius the II. affirmed, that though many strong reasons might be adduced in support of the celibacy of the clergy, there were still stronger reasons against it.

IN the year 400, it was decreed in a council, that such of the clergy as had faithful wives should not entertain concubines, but that such as either had no wives, or were joined to unfaithful ones, might do as they pleased.

pleased. In the year 441, it was decreed, that priests and deacons should either abstain from marriage, or be degraded from their office. This law seems afterward to have been a little relaxed; for in the year 572 one of the canons of the council of Lucense says, when a deacon is elected, and declares that he has not the gift of chastity, he shall not be ordained; but if he says nothing, is ordained, and afterwards desires to marry, he shall be set aside from the ministry; and if a subdeacon take a wife, he may be a reader or a door-keeper, but he shall not read the apostles. In the year 633, it was ordained, That priests should live chaste, having clean bodies and pure minds; and the same council, as if it had been to shew how ill their statutes were observed, ordained also, That such clergy as had married widows, wives divorced from their husbands, or common whores, should be separated from them. In the year 743, all the canons against marriage seem to have been totally disregarded, as we find, that even those who were bigamists, or had married widows, might be promoted to sacred orders. In the year 1126, the notion of enforcing celibacy

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seems again to have prevailed; for in a synod held by pope Honorius, all the clergy are strictly forbid to have wives, and ordered to be degraded from their office if they disobeyed the mandate, a mandate which was renewed in the year following, with some additional threatenings annexed to it; and so warm were the fathers of the church in their invectives against matrimony, that some of them rendered themselves ridiculous by their intemperate zeal. St. Jerom expressly declares, that the end of matrimony is *eternal death*, that the earth is indeed filled by it, but heaven by virginity. Edward the Confessor was sainted only for abstaining from the conjugal embrace; and many of the primitive christians, fully persuaded that every species of the carnal appetite was inconsistent with pure religion, lived with a wife as they would have done with a sister. Jovinian was banished in the fourth century by the emperor Honorius, for maintaining, that a man who cohabited with his wife might be saved, provided he observed the laws of piety and virtue laid down in the gospel. In the year 1563, it was almost unanimously voted at the council of Trent, that married  
men

men should not be promoted to priests or-  
ders, that the dignity of the church be not  
impaired.

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THE first canons against marriage were, it is said, only received in Italy and France, a proof that the inhabitants of these countries were either less sensible, or less tenacious of the rights of mankind, than their neighbours. When, or by whom the celibacy of the clergy was first introduced into England is not perfectly agreed upon; some supposing it was St. Dunstan, who, with the consent of king Edgar, first proposed to, and pressed the married clergy to put away their wives, which all those that refused to do were deposed, and monks put into their livings. These monks, whose invention was always fruitful in stories to advance their own interest, gave out, that all the married clergy who disobeyed the order of the saint were, with their wives and children, transformed into eels; and, as many of them resided in the isle, now called Ely, it is said to have taken its name from that circumstance.

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AT a synod held at Winchester under the same St. Dunstan, the monks farther averred, that so highly criminal was it for a priest to marry, that even a wooden cross had audibly declared against the horrid practice. Others place the first attempt against the marriage of the clergy to the account of Alefrick, archbishop of Canterbury, about the beginning of the eleventh century; however this be, we have among the canons a decree of the archbishops of Canterbury and York, ordaining, That all the ministers of God, especially priests, should observe chastity, and not take wives. And in the year 1076 there was a council assembled at Winchester, under Lanfranc, which decreed, That no canon should have a wife. That such priests as lived in castles and villages should not be obliged to put their wives away, but that such as had none should not be allowed to marry; and that bishops should neither ordain priests nor deacons, unless they previously declared that they were not married. In the year 1102, archbishop Anselm held a council at Westminster, where it was decreed, That no archdeacon, priest, deacon, or canon, should either marry a wife, or  
retain



retain her if he had one. Anselm, to give this decree the greater weight, desired of the king, that the principle men of the kingdom might be present at the council, and that the decree might be enforced by the joint consent both of the clergy and laity; the king consented, and to these canons the whole realm gave a general sanction. The clergy of the province of York, however, remonstrated against them, and refused to put away their wives. The unmarried refused also to oblige themselves to continue in that state; nor were the clergy of Canterbury much more tractable,

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ABOUT two years afterward, Anselm called a new council at London in the presence of the king and barons, where canons still severer than the former were enacted. Those who had taken women since the former prohibition were enjoined to dismiss them so entirely, as not to be knowingly in the same house with them; and any ecclesiastic accused of this transgression, by two or more witnesses, was, if a priest, to purge himself by six witnesses; if a deacon, by four; if a subdeacon, by two; otherwise to be deemed guilty. Priests, archdeacons,

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archdeacons, or canons, refusing to part with their women, here styled *adulterous concubines*, were to be deprived of their livings, put out of the choir, and declared infamous, and the bishop had authority to take away all their moveable goods, as well as those of their women. This law, highly unjust and severe, was still more so in France; for at a council held at Lyons in the year 1042, a power was given to the barons to make slaves of all the children of the married clergy. As the English clergy were still very refractory, in the year 1125, cardinal Crema, the pope's legate, presiding in a council held at Westminster, with a view to enforce the papal authority, made a long and inveterate speech against the horrid sin of matrimony, in which he declared, that it was the highest degree of wickedness to rise from the side of a woman, and make the body of Christ. But unluckily for the poor cardinal, he was himself that same evening caught by the Constable, in the very situation he had painted as so sinful, and the shame of it soon drove him out of England.

IN

IN the year 1129, the archbishop of Canterbury being legate, a council was called at London, to which all the clergy of England were summoned; here it was enacted, That all who had wives should put them away before the next feast of St. Andrew, under pain of deprivation. The execution of this decree was left to the king; who took money of several priests, by way of commutation, and so the intention of the decree was frustrated. Many of the clergy now finding a heavy fine imposed on them, for keeping a lawful wife, and none for a concubine,\* chose the latter, by which means their lives became so openly scandalous, that about forty-six years after, in the reign of Henry the Second, Richard archbishop of Canterbury, in a synod held at Westminster, prohibited all who were in holy orders, from keeping concubines, as well as from marrying. The like prohibition was issued afterward, in a synod held at York, by Herbert archbishop of Canter-

\* Some of the fathers in the council of Trent declared, that even the concubines of priests were of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and as well as the priests themselves, entirely exempted from the power of the civil magistrate.

bury,

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bury, and chief justice of England. In the ninth year of Henry the Third, Stephen Langton revived these decrees; and added, That priests keeping concubines, should not be admitted to the sacraments, nor their concubines allowed christian burial. But in spite of all these efforts, many of the clergy still retained their wives, concubines, and benefices, till cardinal Otho some time after made a positive decree, declaring; That the wives and children of such priests should have no benefit from the estates of their husbands and fathers; and that such estates should be vested in the church. This, as it cut off the widows and children of the clergy from all means of subsistence, and turned them beggars into the world, had a more powerful effect than all the censures and thunders of the church; and at last gave the fatal blow to a right which the clergy had struggled to maintain for many centuries. From this time they seem quietly to have submitted to the restraint, till the Reformation restored to them again the rights of mankind, which had been violently taken from them.

IN

IN this manner did things continue till the reign of Henry the Eighth, when dispensations to keep concubines were sold to such priests as were able to purchase them. But lest this should be a bad example to the people, they were enjoined to keep them privately, and never to go publicly to them on account of scandal. Some years after, a temporal law was added to the spiritual, declaring it felony for a priest to marry; or if married, to have any commerce with his wife; or even so much as to converse with her; or for any person to preach or affirm, that it was lawful for a priest to marry. This law was repealed the following year, though the canons of the church were still in force, and continued so till the time of Edward the Sixth; when the authority of the see of Rome being thrown off, an act was made, by which the marriages of the clergy were declared lawful, and their children legitimate. Queen Mary, in the first year of her reign, repealed this act; and in this state things continued during the reign of queen Elizabeth, who, by a letter directed to all the heads of colleges and cathedral churches, expressly prohibits them from having any wives or women of any

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CHAP. kind among them. The mandate runs thus;  
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 “ We therefore exprefsly will and command,
 “ that no manner of person, being either the
 “ head or member of any college or ca-
 “ thedral church within this realm, shall,
 “ from the time of the notification hereof,
 “ have, or be permitted to have, within the
 “ precinct of every fuch college, his wife
 “ or other woman to abide and dwell in the
 “ fame, or to frequent and haunt any lodg-
 “ ing within the fame college, upon pain,
 “ that whofoever shall do the contrary, shall
 “ forfeit all ecclefiaftical promotion, in any
 “ cathedral or collegiate church within this
 “ realm.” But in the firft year of James the
 Firft, an act was again made, reftoring to the
 clergy the rights of nature, and of citizens;
 and the act remains in force at this day.

Conjec-
 tures on
 the celibacy of the
 clergy.

IN this conteft we have feen a long and
 fevere ftuggle, between one part of the
 clergy, contending for the authority of the
 church, and another part, contending for
 the rights of nature. But why this au-
 thority of the church, and the rights of
 nature, fhould be fo oppofite to each
 other, is a point involved in much ob-
 fcurity. It has been alleged, that the

reason why the church enjoined celibacy, was, that the clergy having no legitimate offspring, might turn their whole attention to enrich and aggrandize that community only of which they were members. This, however, does not appear to be well founded; for illegitimate children may engross the attention of parents, and engage them as strongly in providing for them, as legitimate ones; a circumstance which has frequently appeared in the conduct of the sovereign pontiffs; and yet the church has at most but weakly exerted herself in preventing the clergy from having children of this kind.

IN the human breast there is not a passion so natural, so prevalent, as that which attaches us to the fair sex. The Romish clergy are sons of nature; they are endowed with the same passions, and susceptible of the same feelings, as the rest of her children. How then they should voluntarily give up the gratification of these passions, the pleasure arising from these feelings, if they really do give them up, seems altogether unaccountable; but if we consider it only as a finesse, we may guess at the motives which induce them to it.



IN all countries, and at all periods, the clergy, rather wiser and more cunning than the rest of mankind, have arrogated and secured to themselves privileges which were denied to all others. The Romish clergy, no doubt, considered the enjoyment of the fair sex as every son of nature considers it; but then, in the way of matrimony, this enjoyment was attended with many inconveniences and disadvantages, which they were willing to avoid. They therefore pretended, that persons so sacred, were forbid to enter into matrimony; but at the same time they resolved to enjoy all the pleasures arising from it, without the expence of a family, or the chance of being tied to a disagreeable partner. To effect this it was necessary, first, to have access to every woman in private. Secondly, to get into all the secrets of the sex. And, thirdly, to have places appropriated, where none but them and priests should ever be suffered to enter. In the celibacy of the clergy we may, therefore, perceive the origin of auricular confession; a scheme well calculated to promote their licentious purposes, as it obliged all the women, under pain of eternal damnation, to discover every secret; and not contented
with

with denouncing damnation against her who concealed any thing, it promised absolution, in the most full and ample manner, to her who left nothing undiscovered. Thus threatened with the greatest of evils, on the one hand, and so easy a method of escaping it, even after every criminal indulgence, held out on the other, is there any wonder that women were frequently prevailed upon to discover even those secrets which the sex most cautiously of all others conceal. When women had confessed themselves guilty of one or more faults of this kind, it was natural to think, that, without great difficulty, they might be prevailed upon to repeat them; thus the crafty sons of the church were led to discover where they might make their attacks with the greatest probability of success; and they knew also, that if gentle methods should fail, they could, in a manner, force compliance, by threatening to publish the former faults of their penitents.

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HAVING, by these schemes, secured admittance to all the women, and become possessed of all their secrets, the next step was to prevent interruption, when in private
with

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with them. This was easily accomplished; they had only to denounce the vengeance of heaven against the daring miscreant, whether husband, father, or lover, who should sacrilegiously disturb a holy lecher, while confessing his penitent. Thus, being possessed of all the secrets of the sex, secured in the most inviolable privacy, with nature and the passions on their side, and pardon and remission in their power; is it any wonder that the Romish clergy became so debauched, and so dangerous to the peace of society, that the French and German laity, jointly, petitioned the council of Trent, that priests might be allowed to marry, and that their petition should have these remarkable words? “We
“ are afraid to trust our wives and daughters
“ at confession, with men who reckon no
“ commerce with the sex criminal, but in
“ wedlock*.”

In the celibacy of the clergy, we may discover also the origin of nunneries; the

* A priest, about the time we are speaking of, having met an English nobleman coming out of the parliament, asked him, what news? We have just, said he, been passing an act to restrain our clergy from having wives. “You may hinder your priests from having wives,” answered he, “but you cannot hinder your wives from having priests.”

intrigues

intrigues they could procure, while at confession, were only short, occasional, and with women whom they could not entirely appropriate to themselves; to remedy which, they probably fabricated the scheme of having religious houses, where young women should be shut up from the world, and where no man but a priest, on pain of death, should enter; that in these dark retreats, secluded from censure, and from the knowledge of the world, they might riot in licentiousness.

SUCH has been the opposition made by the clergy to the marriage of their fraternity, and such perhaps has been the causes of it; nor will it appear to any one who is acquainted with the history of the middle ages, that we censure too severely in so saying. The clergy never had any arguments of consequence to offer in support of so arbitrary a measure; that of Cardinal Crema, already mentioned, seems to have been what they made most use of, and besides, they quoted the authority of St. Paul, who says, "He that marrieth doth well, but he that marrieth not doth better." But they trusted most to papal authority, and dogmatical assertion

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assertion; all which, even in the ages of ignorance and superstition, were too weak to stifle nature; and men easily saw through the thin disguise, which the flagitiousness of their lives often threw aside without any ceremony.

Concubines formerly allowed by law.

As we have frequently mentioned the concubinage of the clergy, we think it justice to take notice here, that, however infamous it become afterwards, it was towards the beginning of the middle ages a legal union, something less solemn, but not less indissoluble than marriage; and that though a concubine did not enjoy the same consideration in the family as a wife of equal rank, yet she enjoyed a consequence and honour greatly superior to a mistress. By the Roman law, when the want of birth, or of fortune, prohibited a woman from becoming the wife of a man of family, the civil law allowed him to take her as a concubine, and the children of such concubine, both at Rome and among the ancient Franks, were not less qualified, with the father's approbation, to inherit, than the children of a wife. The western church, for several centuries, held concubinage of
this

this kind intirely lawful. The first council of Toleda exprefsly fays, That a man muft have but one wife, or one concubine, at his option; and feveral councils held at Rome fpeak the fame language: but fo much were thefe indulgences abufed, that law and cuftom joining together, at laft finally abolifhed them.

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C H A P. XXX.

*Of Widowhood.*C H A P.
XXX.

AS the condition of married women is of all others the most honourable and eligible, so that of widowhood is generally the most deplorable, and consequently the object of their greatest aversion.

Why wo-
men dif-
like wi-
dowhood.

Women are by nature too weak to defend themselves against the insults and outrages of man. They are too weak to maintain themselves either by the fishing and hunting of the ruder nations, or even by the pasturage and agriculture of those that are more polite. To launch out into trade and commerce would require, perhaps, more industry, and more steady efforts of mind, than are consistent with their volatile natures and finer feelings, and would, besides, expose them to many assaults, which even the severest virtue might not always be able to repel. On these, and a variety of other accounts, they are commonly dependent on the men for the two important articles, *maintenance*

tenance and protection. While young, they are under the protection of their parents or guardians, who are obliged to provide for them, or at least to superintend the management both of their fortunes and conduct. When they enter into matrimony, they put themselves under the protection and guardianship of a husband; but when they become widows, no person is henceforth so much interested in their welfare, no person is legally bound to defend or to maintain them; and hence their dislike to that forlorn condition.

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BUT there are other causes beside these, which strongly contribute to heighten this dislike. Though a woman may not be very handsome, yet there is always in youth something that attracts the attention and procures the good offices of the men; consequently the chance of a husband is considerable. But when she has been married, and is become a widow, she is generally past the bloom of life, has lost, by the bearing of children and care of a family, a great part of those charms which procured her the first husband; and on this, and several

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other accounts, is not so likely to succeed in getting another.

State of
widows in
the primi-
tive ages.

THUS the condition of widowhood, even in the politest countries, is attended with many disadvantages. In rude and barbarous ones, these disadvantages are still more numerous and more grievous. The history of all antiquity, gives the strongest reasons to suspect, that widows were often the prey of the lawless tyrant, who spoiled them with impunity, because they had none to help them. In many places of scripture, we frequently find the state of the widow and the fatherless depicted as of all others the most forlorn and miserable; and men of honour and probity, in enumerating their own good actions, placing a principal share of them in not having spoiled the widow and the fatherless. “If I have lift up
“ my hand against the fatherless,” says Job,
“ or have caused the eyes of the widow
“ to fail, then let mine arm fall from my
“ shoulder, and be broken from the bone.” In the book of Exodus it is declared as a law,
“ that ye shall not afflict the widow, or the
“ fatherless child: if thou afflict them in any
“ ways, and they cry unto me, I will surely
hear

“hear their cry; and my wrath shall wax
 “hot, and I will kill you with the sword,
 “and your wives shall be widows, and your
 “children fatherless.” In the eight century,
 one of the canon laws enacted, that none
 shall presume to disturb widows, orphans,
 and weak people; and no sentence could be
 executed against a widow, without advising
 the bishop of the diocese of it. These cir-
 cumstances create a strong suspicion, that
 widows were often oppressed; otherwise,
 why so many laws for their particular pro-
 tection? But to men who live in happier
 times, when laws extend an equal protec-
 tion to all, and when humanity dictates finer
 feelings than those of triumphing over weak
 and helpless beings, such laws appear super-
 fluous and unnatural; and the causes of
 promulgating them can only be cleared up,
 by considering the manners and customs of
 the times in which they were instituted.

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BEFORE laws were thoroughly digested,
 and had sufficiently acquired the power of
 protecting, the privileges of maintaining
 their property, and revenging the injuries
 done either to it or their persons, belonged
 to individuals. Accordingly when any per-
 son


Widows
had none
to redress
their
wrongs.

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son was killed, the nearest relation was at liberty take vengeance on the murderer. But as this vengeance could seldom be executed without danger, it often happened, that a widow or an orphan might be murdered with impunity, as there was no person so nearly related to either, as to venture his life against that of him who had done the injury. But besides, as widows and orphans have no friends so nearly interested in their property; as those women who have husbands, and those children who have fathers; and as, among uncultivated people, that which is not defended by strength has hardly any barrier around it. Widows and orphans, in the times of ancient barbarity, were liable to be frequently wronged, oppressed, and plundered. Hence the dreadful misfortune of being in any of those conditions; and hence, also, the superior virtue of not only resisting the temptation of plundering them, but of pleading their cause, in times when the exertions of humanity were but weak, and the temptation of acquiring even a little, exceedingly strong.

WHEN we view the manners and customs of the savage nations of our own times, we
behold

Behold a picture nearly resembling that of C H A P.
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the periods we have just now mentioned. 

We see that as weakness is not protected by The wi-
dows of
savages
how treat-
ed.
the laws, to be allied to powerful relations
and friends, or to be joined in some formid-
able party are the only securities against ra-

pine and violence. To be thought worthy of
the protection of such friends, or of such a
party, it is generally necessary either to be
able to share in their common dangers, or to
be useful to them in some other manner.

Widows and orphans are frequently incapa-
ble of either: hence among savages, they are
despised and neglected, if not plundered and
devoured by the hand of the oppressor.

Circumstances which nowhere happen more
frequently than in Greenland; a country so
extremely barren, that almost the whole of
their subsistence must be drawn from the sea;
and when they cannot derive it from that
source, as is frequently the case in stormy
weather, then women, who are in general
but little regarded, fall the first victims to
famine. But should no such accident hap-
pen, widows, who are left without sons of
age and strength enough to catch fish and
seals for them, are always in the most de-
plorable condition; for the whole riches
of

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of a Greenlander consists in his little stock of provisions; and such is the barbarous custom of the country, that when he dies, the neighbours who assemble to bury him, seldom or never depart from his hut, till they have consumed the whole of that stock, and left the widow to inhabit the bare walls. In so horrid a climate, and on so stormy an ocean, it is but little a woman can procure. She is therefore obliged to subsist by the cold hand of charity; in Greenland much colder, than where the blood and kindlier spirits are fanned by a more benevolent atmosphere, and warmed by a more vertical sun. Hence it frequently happens, that the pieces of seals or of whale-blubber thrown to her, hardly sustain a wretched existence, or entirely fail; when neglected and unpitied by all around her, she expires by hunger and by cold.

Widows
not allow-
ed to mar-
ry again
and why.

AMONG many of the ancients, widows were, by custom, restricted from having a second husband. Almost over all the East, and among many tribes of the Tartars, they believed that wives were not only destined to serve their husbands in this world, but in the next also; and as every wife there was to be

be the sole property of her first husband, she could never obtain a second, because he could only secure to himself her service in this life. After the Greeks became sensible of the benefits arising from the regulations of Cecrops concerning matrimony, they conceived so high an idea of them, that they affixed a degree of infamy on the woman who married a second husband, even after the death of the first; and it was more than two centuries after the time of Cecrops, before any woman dared to make the attempt. Their history has transmitted to posterity, with some degree of infamy, the name of her who first ventured on a second marriage. It was *Gorgophona*, the daughter of Perseus and Andromeda, who began the practice; a practice, which, though soon after followed by others, could not, even by the multitude of its votaries, be screened from the public odium; for, during a great part of the heroic ages, widows who remarried were considered as having offended against public decency. A custom to which Virgil plainly alludes, when he describes the conflict in the breast of Dido, between her love for Æneas, and fear of wounding her honour by a second marriage. Nay, so

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scrupulous were the Greeks about second marriages, that in some circumstances even men were with difficulty allowed to enter into them. Charonidas excluded all those from the public councils of the state, who had children, and married a second wife. “It is impossible, (said he) that a man can advise well for his country, who does not consult the good of his own family: he whose first marriage has been happy, ought to rest satisfied with that happiness; if unhappy, he must be out of his senses to risque being so again.” The Romans borrowed this custom of the Greeks, and considered it not only as a kind of breach of the matrimonial vow in the woman, but also as affecting the man nearly in the same manner that her infidelity would have affected him while he was living. “The soul of a deceased husband,” says Justinian, “is disturbed when his wife marries a second.” Laws and customs of long standing, acquire among the vulgar the force of moral precepts. When the manners of the Germans became so much refined, that they emancipated their women from the restriction of not marrying a second husband, the spirit of the custom still operated so powerful on

the minds of these women, that it was a long time before any of them would prefer the voice of nature and of reason, to that of the tenet which they had imbibed from their ancestors; and which they therefore considered as sacred. In Cumana, when a husband dies, it is said, they make the widow swear that she will preserve and keep by her, his head, during her life; as a monitor to tell her that she is never to enter again into the married state.

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AMONG the ancient Jews and Christians of the primitive ages, there were certain orders of men, who were not allowed to join themselves in marriage with widows. Every priest of the Jews was to take a wife in her virginity; “a widow, or a divorced woman, or prophane, or an harlot, these shall he not take; but he shall take a virgin of his own people to wife.” Pope Syricus, copying the example set by Moses, ordained, that if a bishop married a widow, he should be degraded. It is somewhat remarkable, that Moses should have put widows on the same scale with harlots and prophane women; an arrangement which greatly degraded them, and which must doubtless have depended on

Classes of
men not
allowed
to marry
widows.

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some opinion or custom, of which we are now entirely ignorant. Nor are we better acquainted with the reason why the clergy of the middle ages were prohibited from marrying widows; for, besides the prohibition of Syricus, which only extended to bishops, the church afterward issued many others of the same nature, which extended in time to all men in holy orders. In the year 400, we find it decreed in the Cyprian council, that if a reader married a widow, he should never be preferred in the church; and that if a subdeacon did the same, he should be degraded to a door-keeper or reader.

Amend-
ment of
the condi-
tion of
widows.

As the Egyptians were the first people who treated women with propriety, and allowed them to enjoy the common rights of nature, they were not even unmindful of their widows, but protected them by their laws, and allowed them a proper maintenance from the effects of their deceased husbands. The Greeks, who derived their laws from ancient Egypt, likewise allowed their widows a dower for their subsistence; but if they had any children by the first husband, and married a second, they could carry



carry to him none of the dower of the first. Among the Romans, when a man died intestate, and without children, his widow was the sole heiress of his fortune; and if he left children, she had an equal share with them of all that belonged to him. In the middle ages, when it was customary for creditors to seize upon and sell the wives and children of a debtor, they were not empowered to take his widow. The connection was dissolved, and she was no longer his property; though her sons and daughters were, and might be taken and sold accordingly. In the eleventh century, the church began to espouse the cause of widows, and required a promise from penitents, before she would give them absolution, that they would not henceforth *hurt the widow and the fatherless*. Among the Franks, it was customary to pay to the bride a small sum of money, by way of purchase. This sum was commonly a sol and a denier to a maiden; but to a widow three golden sols and a denier were requisite; because, all women besides widows being under perpetual guardianship, marriage made no change in the liberty of a maiden; whereas a widow parted with the liberty she had gained by the death of her first

first

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first husband, when she joined herself to a second. The Bavarians considered a rape committed on a widow, as a most atrocious crime; and obliged the violator to pay to her one fourth part more, by way of compensation, then he would have done to a virgin. In the Doomsday book, we find the king exacted only a fine of ten shillings for liberty to marry a maiden, but it cost twenty to obtain liberty of marrying a widow; a plain proof that widows were either more valued, or supposed more able to pay.

Mourning
of widows
for their
husbands.

THE melancholy ceremonies of mourning have, in all ages and countries, been more peculiarly allotted to women; widows, however, whether from a sense of the almost unspeakable loss they sustain by the death of a husband, or from some other reasons known to themselves only, have generally, in those solemn ceremonies, gone greater lengths than the rest of their sex. Jewish widows mourned the death of their husbands, at least for the space of ten months, and were reckoned shamefully abandoned if they married again within that time. Almost every civilized people have, in some degree, copied this example; some

some have allotted a longer, and others a shorter time to the mourning of widows, and all have marked them with more or less infamy, if they married again too soon. But as this infamy was not always a sufficient motive to restrain them from doing so, several legislators have fixed a certain time, within which they should not be allowed to marry. Among the Romans; this was ten months. Among other nations it varied according to the regard they thought due to a deceased husband; and the expression of that regard which ought to be shown by his wife. In the eleventh century, the church decreed, that a widow should not marry within the space of one year after her release from the bonds of matrimony. The laws of Geneva shorten this period to half a year. But as there are few countries in which the matter is taken up by the legislature, it is more commonly regulated by custom than by law.

ABOUT a century ago, widows in Scotland, and in Spain, wore the dress of mourners, till death, or a second husband, put an end to the ceremony. In Spain, the widow passed the first year of her mourning in a chamber hung with black, into which day-

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day-light was never suffered to enter. When this lugubrious year was ended, she changed her dark and dismal scene for a chamber hung with grey, into which she sometimes admitted an intrusive sunbeam to penetrate; but neither in her black nor grey chamber did custom allow her looking-glasses, nor cabinets, nor plate, nor any thing but the most plain and necessary furniture. Nor was she to have any jewels on her person, nor to wear any colour but black*. The faultless victim was, however, immediately discharged from her gloomy prison, if she was lucky enough to get a second husband, and she frequently laid herself out for one, as much with a view to escape from her confinement, as on account of reiterating the joys of wedlock.

AMONG nations less cultivated, the idea of what a widow ought to undergo on the loss of her husband, has been carried to a

* We are so much accustomed in Europe to see mourners dressed in black, that we have affixed a melancholy idea to that colour: Black is not, however, universally appropriated to this purpose. The dress of Chinese mourners is white; that of the Turks blue; of the Peruvians a mouse colour; of the Egyptians yellow, and in some of their provinces green, and purple is at present made use of as the mourning dress of kings and cardinals.

length,

length, in some respects, more unreasonable than in Spain. The Muskohge savages in America allot her the tedious space of four years to chastity and to mourning; and the Chikkasah appoint three to the same purposes. The women, however, do not voluntarily comply with this custom, but only to save themselves from the punishment of adulterers, to which they would be liable if they acted otherwise §. To this mourning and continency are added particular austerities; every evening and morning, during the first year, a widow is obliged to lament her loss in loud and lugubrious strains; but if her husband was a war-chief, she is then, during the first moon, to sit the *whole day* under his war-pole †, and there

§ Continency, during the time of mourning, seems to have been a custom early introduced into the world. The Rabbies tell us, that Adam and Eve mourned one hundred years for Abel, and lived all that time separate from each other. Probably the Rabbies took this story from the usages of their own or some neighbouring nations, who enjoined chastity as one of the methods of paying respect to the memory of the dead.

† This war-pole is a tree stuck in the ground, the top and branches cut off, it is painted red, and all the weapons and trophies of war which belonged to the deceased are hung on it, and remain there till they rot.

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incessantly to bewail her lost lord, without any shelter from the heat, the cold, or whatever weather shall happen; a ceremony so rigid and severe, that not a few in the performance of it, fall victims to the various distempers which then attack them, and to which they are not allowed to pay any regard, till the ceremony is ended. This custom, according to the Indians, was instituted, not only to hinder women from taking any methods to destroy, but also to induce them to do all in their power to preserve the lives of their husbands. Besides this, there may be other reasons. It was anciently considered as one of the greatest of misfortunes to die unlamented; a circumstance which the sacred records, and the historians and poets of antiquity frequently allude to, and which is at this day a custom in many parts of the Indies, and exists also in Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, in some of the northern parts of which, nothing would more disturb a chieftain when alive, than to think that his funeral dirge would not be sung by his dependents when dead; perhaps, therefore, this long and painful mourning of the American widows was instituted to prevent the illusive evil of dying unlamented.

BUT

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BUT this painful ceremony, and this long celibacy of the Muskohge and Chikkasah widows, is not all that they are condemned to suffer; the law obliges them also, during the continuance of their weeds, to abstain from all kinds of diversion, from all publick company, to go with their hair negligent and disheveled, and to deny themselves the enchanting pleasure of anointing it with grease or oil. The brother, or other nearest relation of the deceased husband, enforces the observation of all these ceremonies with the most scrupulous attention; because, should the widow fail in performing any of them, she would bring the most indelible stain upon the whole family into which she was married. Through the whole of their widowhood, the women continue to mourn their lost husbands, and in their lamentations constantly call on them by name, especially when they go out to work in the morning, and when they return in the evening, at which times the whole company of maids and widows join in a melancholy chorus, making the hills and dales reverberate the funebral sound. Husbands, however, never weep for their wives; "tears," say they,

Husbands
never
weep for
their
wives.

M m m 2

" do

CHAP. "do not become men; it is only women
 XXX.
 ~~~~~ "that ought to weep."

Women  
 strangled,  
 to serve  
 their hus-  
 bands in  
 the other  
 world.

SUCH are the severities which mark the fate of widows among the savages of America; but hard as we may reckon all these unmerited sufferings and austerities, they are lenient and tender, when compared to what widows in several parts of Africa are obliged to undergo. In that country of tyranny and despotism, wives and concubines are not only doomed to be the slaves of their husbands in this world, but, according to their opinion, in the next also; the husband therefore, is no sooner dead than his wives, concubines, servants, and even sometimes horses must be strangled, in order to render him the same services in a future life which they did in this. At the Cape of Good Hope, in order that widows may not impose themselves on the men for virgins, they are obliged by law to cut off a joint from a finger for every husband that dies; this joint they present to their new husband on the day of their marriage. In the Isthmus of Darien, both sexes were formerly obliged to observe this custom, that none of them might impose themselves on each other for what they were



were not; or according to some authors, which is not less probable, it was their marriage ceremony by which they were affianced to each other. In Darien, when a widow dies, such of her children as are too young to provide subsistence for themselves are buried with her in the same grave, no one being willing to take the charge of them, and the community not being so far ripened as to discover that the loss of every individual is a loss to the state. Such is the savage barbarity of African and American policy; a barbarity which can only be exceeded by what we are going to relate of the Hindoos, or ancient inhabitants of the banks of the Ganges, and some other parts of the East Indies.

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BESIDES the remarkable custom of making every woman a prisoner for life, the Asiatics present us with another still more extraordinary, and, if possible, more repugnant to human nature. The Hindoos do not bury their dead after the manner of many other nations, but burn their bodies upon a large pile of wood erected for the purpose; upon this pile the most beloved wife, and in some places it is said, all the

wives

Widows  
burnt on  
the fune-  
ral pile of  
their hus-  
bands.

CHAP. wives of great men are obliged to devote  
 XXX. themselves to the flames which consume the  
 ~~~~~ body of their husbands\*.

Origin of
 burning
 widows.

THIS cruel and inhuman custom having existed among them from the remotest antiquity, its origin is dark and uncertain, though they generally give the following account of it†. The Hindoo wives having in ancient times become so wicked and abandoned, as to make a common practise of poisoning their husbands whenever they displeased them; several methods were in vain attempted to remedy the evil, when at last the men found themselves under the necessity of enacting a law, That every widow among them should be burned to death

* In the history of the Buccaneers of America, it is said that a widow in the Carribee Islands, is obliged every day, for the space of one year, to carry victuals to the grave of her deceased husband; and the year being expired, she must dig up his bones, wash and dry them in the sun, put them in a satchel, carry them on her back all day, and sleep upon them all night for the space of another year:—cruel custom! if it really exists; but the anonymous author of the history, abounds so much in the marvellous, that he deserves but little credit.

† Customs something similar to this have existed almost from the earliest ages. Herodotus informs us that among the ancient Cretanians, a people of Thrace, widows, assisted by all their relations, made interest who should be preferred to the honour of being killed on the grave of the deceased husband.

on

on the funeral pile of her dead husband; an effectual, though dreadful remedy to prevent the most horrid of crimes.

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As there is no positive proof, however, that this was the origin of so barbarous a custom, others have supposed that it arose in the following manner. At the death of Brama, the great prophet and lawgiver of the Hindoos, his wives, inconsolable for so great a loss, resolved not to survive him, and therefore voluntarily sacrificed themselves on the funeral pile. The wives of the chief Rajahs, or officers of state, unwilling to have their love and fidelity reckoned less than the wives of Brama, followed, in a kind of bravo, their unnatural example. The Bramins, or priests of Brama, foreseeing that it would turn out advantageous to their society, extolled the new invented piety, and declared, that the spirits of those heroines from thenceforth desisted from being transmigrated into other bodies, and immediately entered into the first *bhoobun* of purification*. A reward

* According to the Bramins there are fourteen bhoobuns or spheres, seven above the earth, for the reception of the spirits of the blessed,

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so glorious, which saved the spirit from passing a long and disagreeable state of probation, in the bodies of a variety of inferior animals, induced even the wives of the Bramins themselves to claim a right of sacrificing their bodies in this manner. The wives of all the Hindoos caught the enthusiastic contagion, and thus in a short time the frantic heroism of a few women brought on a general custom. The Bramins sanctified it by religion, and thereby established it on a foundation that several thousand years have not been able to destroy.

Women
stimulated
by the
Bramins
to burn
them-
selves.

As the Bramins receive considerable emoluments from the burning of widows, they take care to interweave into their education an idea of its necessity, and from their earliest youth instruct them to consider this catastrophe as the most pleasing to Brama, and the most beneficial to themselves and their children. When they become wives, the same unwearied efforts are continued to confirm their minds in the principals so early

and seven below it, for the reception of those who are condemned to further misery and punishment, till they arrive at the necessary degree of purification.

inculcated;



inculcated; all the enthusiasm of religion, and all the ardour arising in the human mind from glory, are kindled up into a blaze. All the abhorrence starting up against degradation, shame and infamy, is likewise conjured up to exert itself. The woman is told, from the Shaster, their fountain of infallible truth, that it is proper for a widow after her husband's death, to burn herself in the same fire with his corpse; and that every one who does so, shall remain in paradise with him three croree and fifty lacks of years, in the full enjoyment of every possible felicity. That the children descended of a mother thus voluntarily sacrificed, acquire thereby an additional lustre, are courted in marriage by the most honourable of their cast, and even sometimes advanced to a cast superior to that in which they were born. That she who dastardly declines to ascend the funeral pile, is degraded from her cast, thrown out of all society, and by every one contemned and despised. That her children too, degraded and buffeted, must feel the effects of her crime, and become with herself the detestation even of the lowest, and most despicable, of mankind; that she forfeits all title to the long felicity she would

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have enjoyed with her husband in paradise; must submit to many painful and degrading transmigrations, and at last be condemned to eternal torments in hell, for crimes of the most trifling nature, which would otherwise have been overlooked.

IN spite of the care of the Bramins, in spite of all the glorious rewards offered to those who burn, and dreadful punishments threatened against those who do not, nature will often revolt at death, and prefer even a life of ignominy to an exit attended with all the flattering ideas of honour and felicity. We are encouraged to assert this, because a gentleman, who has been present at many of these executions, declares, that in some of the victims he has observed a dread and reluctance, which strongly spoke their having repented of their fatal resolution. But too late; for *Vishnu*, say the Bramins, is waiting for the spirit, and must not be disappointed: when the woman, therefore, wants courage, she is forced to ascend the pile, and is afterward held down by long poles till the flames reach and destroy her; mean while her screams and cries are drowned by the noise of loud music, and the still

more noisy shouts and acclamations of the surrounding multitude.

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SOME historians have lately asserted, that the custom of burning no longer exists in India. This, however, is a mistake; there are two recent instances of it transmitted by Europeans, who were witnesses of the transactions they related. Of one of these, as being the most circumstantial, we shall give our readers an abstract. On the 4th of February, 1742, died Rham Chund, pundit of the Maharattor tribe; his widow, aged seventeen or eighteen years, as soon as he expired, immediately declared to the Bramins, and witnesses present, her resolution to burn. As the family was of great importance, all her relations and friends left no arguments unattempted to dissuade her from her purpose. The state of her infant children, the terrors and pains of the death she aspired after, were painted to her in the strongest and most lively colours; but she was deaf to all. Her children, indeed, she seemed to leave with some regret; but when the terrors of burning were mentioned to her, with a countenance calm and resolved, she put one of her fingers into the fire, and held it

Custom of
burning
not obli-
terated.

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there a considerable time; then, with one of her hands, she put fire into the palm of the other; sprinkled incense upon it, and fumigated the attending Bramins. Being given to understand, that she should not obtain permission to burn, she fell immediately into the most deep affliction; but soon recollecting herself, answered, that death would still be in her power; and that if she were not allowed to make her exit, according to the principles of her cast, she would starve herself. Finding her thus resolved, her friends were, at last, obliged to consent to her proposal.

EARLY on the following morning, the body of the deceased was carried down to the water-side; the widow followed about ten o'clock, accompanied by three principal Bramins, her children, relations, and a numerous crowd of spectators. As the order for her burning did not arrive till after one o'clock, the interval was employed in praying with the Bramins, and washing in the Ganges; as soon as it arrived, she retired, and staid about half an hour in the midst of her female relations; she then divested herself of her bracelets, and other ornaments; and

and having tied them in a kind of apron, CHAP.
XXX. which hung before her, was conducted by  the females to a corner of the pile. On the pile was an arched arbour, formed of dry sticks, boughs, and leaves; and open only at one end to admit her entrance. In this was deposited the body of the deceased; his head at the end, opposite to the opening. At that corner of the pile, to which she had been conducted, a Bramin had made a small fire, round which she and three Bramins sat for a few minutes; one of them then put into her hand a leaf of the bale tree; the wood of which a part of the funeral pile is always constructed: she threw the leaf into the fire, and one of the others gave her a second leaf, which she held over the flame, whilst he, three times, dropped some ghee on it, which melted and fell into the fire: whilst these things were doing, a third Bramin read to her some portions of the Aughtorrah Beid, and asked her some questions, which she answered with a steady and serene countenance; these being over, she was led with great solemnity three times round the pile, the Bramins reading before her; when she came the third time to the small fire, she stopped, took her rings off her toes and fingers,

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fingers, and put them to her other ornaments; then taking a solemn and majestic leave of her children, parents, and relations, one of the Bramins dipped a large wick of cotton in some ghee, and giving it lighted into her hand, led her to the open side of the arbour, where all the Bramins fell at her feet; she blessed them, and they retired weeping. She then ascended the pile, and entered the arbour, making a profound reverence at the feet of the deceased, and then advancing, seated herself by his head. In silent meditation, she looked on his face for the space of a minute; then set fire to the arbour in three places; but soon observing that she had kindled it to leeward, and that the wind blew the flames from her, she arose, set fire to the windward side, and placidly resuming her station; sat there with a dignity and composure, which no words can convey an idea of. The pile being of combustible matter, the supporters of the roof were soon consumed, and the whole tumbled in upon her, putting an end at once to her courage and her life,

THE other instance of a woman burning herself happened within these few years;
as

as the ceremonies she observed in doing it, were nearly the same as those we have just related, we shall only observe that the following were the differences. The first only washed her own body in the Ganges; the second washed herself and the corps of her husband. The first gave nothing to the spectators; the second distributed among them money, rice fried in butter, and betel out of her own mouth. The first kindled the fire that was to devour her; the second had it kindled by her children. The first sat by her deceased husband; the second stretched herself down by his side. But these immaterial differences may, perhaps, be regulated by the customs of different districts.

FROM such scenes of horror, we naturally turn with abhorrence; and are happy to say, that though the burning of widows is not altogether abolished, by the authority and example of the Europeans it is gradually falling into disuse, and cannot be executed without leave of the governor; who grants it as seldom as possible: European authority and example, however, cannot prevail on the Asiatics to consider their women in a more liberal point of view; to treat

Widows
fold by
the rela-
tions of
the decea-
sed hus-
bands.

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XXX.

~~~~~ treat them as companions and equals, or to release them from these prisons where they are confined for life. If such, therefore, is the generally treatment of the sex, even while in all the bloom of youth and beauty, we are not to expect that those widows who do not burn with their husbands, are to experience any indulgence—when their youth, when their beauty, is no more; when they have failed in a point of duty, and of gratitude, reckoned so necessary; and have nothing left to plead their cause but humanity, an emotion hardly alive among the people we are treating of, and whose feeble exertions, in many places of Asia and Africa, cannot rescue even the widow of a friend, or a brother, from being considered as the property of the relations of her deceased husband, and sold or condemned to labour for their profit.

WIDOWS are not, however, in all parts of Asia treated in this slavish manner. In China, if they have had children, they become absolute mistresses of themselves; and their relations have no power to compel them to continue widows, nor to give them to another husband. It is not, however, reputable

reputable for a widow who has children, to enter into a second marriage, without great necessity, especially if she is a woman of distinction; in which case, although she has been a wife only a few hours, or barely contracted, she frequently thinks herself obliged to pass the rest of her days in widowhood; and thereby to testify to the world the esteem and veneration she had for her husband or lover. In the middle stations of life, the relations of some deceased husbands, eager to reimburse the family in the sum which the wife originally cost it, oblige her to marry, or rather sell her to another husband, if she has no male issue. And it frequently happens, that the future husband has concluded the bargain, and paid the money for her, before she is acquainted with the transaction. From this oppression she has only two methods of delivering herself. Her relations may reimburse those of the deceased husband, and claim her exemption, or, she may become a *Bonzesse*; a state, however, not very honourable, when embraced in an involuntary manner. By the laws of China, a widow cannot be sold to another husband till the time of her mourning for the first expires; so eager, however, are the friends

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often to dispose of her, that they pay no regard to this law ; but, on complaint being made to a mandarin, he is obliged to do her justice. As she is commonly unwilling to be bartered for in this manner, without her consent or knowledge, as soon as the bargain is struck, a covered chair, with a considerable number of lusty fellows, is brought to her house ; she is forcibly put into it, and conveyed to the house of her new husband, who takes care to secure her.

European  
widows  
how  
treated.

THOUGH among the savages of America, though in Africa and Asia, widows are treated in this infamous manner, and their condition thereby rendered the most deplorable ; in Europe the case is so widely different, that a widow, in tolerable circumstances, is more mistress of herself, than any other woman ; being free from that guardianship and controul, to which the sex are subject while virgins, and while wives. In no part of Europe is this more exemplified than at Parma, and some other places of Italy ; where a widow is the only female who is at liberty either to chuse a husband, or assume the government of any of her actions. Should a virgin pretend to chuse for herself,  
it

it would be reckoned the most profligate licentiousness; should she govern her actions or opinions, she would be considered as the most pert, and perhaps the most abandoned of her sex. At Turin, the order of St. Maurice are restricted from marrying widows; and yet at Turin the condition of a widow is, in point of every other liberty, preferable to that of a maid. Politeness and humanity have joined their efforts in Europe, to render the condition of widows comfortable. The government of England has provided a fund for the widows of officers. The clergy of Scotland, have voluntarily raised a stock to support the widows of their order. Many incorporated trades have followed these laudable examples; nor is this care confined to Britain, it extends to France, Germany, and other countries, where it exists in forms too various to be delineated.

As we shall have occasion in the next chapter to treat more fully of the rights and privileges of widows in England, we shall not at present enter on that subject. Our ancient laws, and those of a great part of Europe, ordained, that a widow should lose

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her dower, if she married again, or suffered her chastity to be corrupted; and the laws of Prussia retain this ordinance to the present time. They likewise ordain, that a widow shall not marry again within nine months after the death of her husband; and that if, while she is with child to a deceased husband, she marry another, she shall be put into the house of correction; and the husband, if he knew her condition, put to work at the wheel-barrow for one year. Besides making widows lose their dower when they enter into a second marriage, the Prussians have another regulation concerning them, highly descriptive of the humanity and wisdom of their legislator. When a widower and a widow intend to marry, one or both of which having children, as it too frequently happens that such children are either despised or neglected, in consequence of the new connections formed, and perhaps of the new offspring raised up, the laws of Prussia provide for their education and fortune, according to the rank and circumstances of the parents; and will not suffer either man or woman to enter into a second marriage, without previously settling with the children of the first.

W.



WE have already related, that widows in some parts of the world, are obliged to distinguish themselves by certain marks from the rest of their sex, that they may not have a power of imposing themselves on the men as virgins. The laws of Prussia carry this idea still farther; they reckon that the man who marries a widow, believing her to be a virgin, is so egregiously cheated, that they retort the evil on the aggressor, and render the marriage null and of no effect. We cannot pretend to describe particularly the ideas that the Prussians entertain of widows: they are certainly, however, much less exalted than those they entertain of virgins; as in their code of laws we meet with this remarkable sentiment: “The husband *may* present to his bride the *morgengabe*, or gift, on the morning after marriage, *even though he should have married a widow.*” But though widows seem by them less esteemed than virgins, they are not without several privileges. In some provinces, if there is no marriage settlement, and the husband dies intestate, they succeed to the half of all that was the joint property of both. But a privilege still more extraordinary, and neither

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Prussian  
widows,  
some laws  
concern-  
ing them.

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neither reconcilable to nature, nor to sound policy, is, the allowing in some cases to a widow, eleven months after the death of her husband, to bring forth the child that was begot by him; which, according to the Prussian law, shall be legitimate, provided it appear more strong and vigorous than a child of nine months, and provided nothing can be proved against the woman.

IN almost all the other countries of Europe, the laws and customs, which regard widows, are little different from those concerning virgins, only in this circumstance, that they every where allow the widow to be mistress of herself; while the maid and the wife are controuled by a parent or a husband. They generally also secure to the widow a maintenance from the estates and effects of her deceased husband, and frequently devolve upon her the important trust of bringing up her children, and suffer her to reap some advantages from their board and education; but such advantages are, for the most part, in the power of the father, who, by his will, may leave them to his wife, or to any other guardian he shall think proper

proper to appoint; for the laws of Europe  
do not consider the mother as the natural  
guardian of her own children, nor endow  
her with any authoritative power over  
them.

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## APPENDIX.



# APPENDIX.

## CHAP. XXXI.

*A short view of some of the most material  
Laws and Customs, concerning the Women  
of Great Britain.*

IN proportion as real politeness and elegance of manners advance, the interests and advantages of the fair sex not only advance also, but become more firmly and permanently established. The interests, however, and good treatment of the sex do not altogether depend on the advancement of politeness and elegance, for it sometimes happens, that a people rather less advanced in these articles than their neighbours, make up the losses thereby arising to their women, by tenderness and humanity. The French and Italians are before the inhabitants of Britain in politeness, they are superior to them in elegance, yet the condition of their women, upon the whole, is not preferable. Such privileges and immunities as they derive from the influence of politeness, the

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Privileges  
of women  
in Britain  
more  
firmly set-  
tled than  
in other  
countries.

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British derive from the laws of their country. Flowing in this channel, though these privileges are perhaps accompanied with less softness and indulgence, they have the advantage of being established on a firmer foundation; and being dictated by equity and humanity, are less liable to be altered and infringed, than if they depended on the whim and caprice which influences gallantry and politeness.

BEFORE we proceed to a particular detail of these laws which regard the persons and properties of the women of this country, it may not be improper to observe, that, taken collectively, and compared with the same kind of laws in other countries, they seem so much preferable, that we cannot help imagining the same spirit, which for many centuries prompted the English to be so liberal of their blood and treasure, in support of those weaker nations who were oppressed by their more powerful neighbours, has also dictated the laws which regard that sex who are almost every where enslaved or oppressed by the other. It is true, the laws of several countries are in some particulars more favourable to the sex than those  
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of England. These of Frederic king of Prussia, which regard the matrimonial compact, shew a greater indulgence to the women, and vest in them powers more extensive than those of England. These of France and Italy, as well as the customs which regard their personal liberty, seem more indulgent. And these of Spain, which regard their rank, and settle the deference to be paid to them, greatly exceed any thing experienced in this country. But those favours and indulgences are only partial, they only mark particular parts of their code of female laws, and do not uniformly extend their influence over the whole.

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IN considering the advantages and disadvantages in the condition of our women, we shall begin with the higher ranks of life. In France, the Salique law does not allow a female to inherit the crown; but in England a woman may be the first personage in the kingdom, may succeed to the crown in her own right, and in that case, not bound by any of the laws which restrain women, she may enjoy the same powers and privileges as a king. Such a queen, if she marry, retains also the same power, issues the

Privileges  
of the  
queens of  
England.

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XXXI.



orders, and transacts the business of the state in her own name, and continues still the sovereign, while her husband is only a subject. But when a king succeeds in his own right to the crown, and marries, his queen is then only a subject, and her rights and privileges not near so extensive. She is exempted, however, from the general laws which exclude married women from having any property in their own right. She is allowed a court, and officers distinct from those of the king her husband. And she may sue any person at law, without joining her husband in the suit. It is high treason to endeavour to compass her death, and to violate her chastity is punishable in a much severer manner than the punishment for violating that of any other woman. She may purchase lands. She may sell and convey them to another person, without the interference of her husband. She may have a separate property in goods and in lands, and may dispose of these by will, as if she were a single woman. She is not liable to pay any toll, and cannot be fined in any court of law. In all other respects she is only considered as a subject, and on the commission of any crime may be tried and punished



punished by the peers of the realm. A queen-  
dowager has privileges different from all  
other women of whatever rank. She re-  
mains still entitled to almost every right she  
enjoyed during the life of her husband, and  
even if she marry a subject, does not lose  
her rank or title. But as a marriage of this  
kind is considered as derogatory to her dig-  
nity, no man is allowed to espouse her with-  
out a licence from the reigning king.

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SOME of the other females of the royal  
family are also peculiarly distinguished and  
protected by the law. To violate the chas-  
tity of the consort of the prince of Wales,  
or of the eldest daughter of the king, al-  
though with their own consent, is deemed  
high-treason, and punishable accordingly.  
In former times, the king had a power of  
levying an aid upon his subjects, to enable  
him to defray the expence of marrying and  
giving a portion to his eldest daughter. But  
this power, which was frequently stretched  
into the most exorbitant oppression, declined  
with the feudal system, and has long since  
happily expired. As for the younger sons  
and daughters of the king, they are hardly  
otherwise distinguished by the laws, than by  
having

Privileges  
of other  
females of  
the royal  
family:

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having the precedence of all other subjects in public ceremonies.

Privileges  
of peeresses.

BESIDES the privileges annexed to the females of the royal family, there are some also enjoyed by peeresses, which are not common to other women. A peeress, when guilty of any crime, cannot be tried but by the house of peers; and if convicted of any crime within the benefit of clergy, may plead, and is entitled to an exemption from the punishment of burning on the hand, a punishment commonly inflicted upon people of all inferior ranks for such kind of offences. A woman, who is noble in her own right, cannot lose her nobility by marrying the meanest plebeian; she communicates her nobility to her children, but not to her husband. She who is only ennobled by marrying a peer, loses that nobility if she afterwards marry a commoner, the law judging it expedient that marriage should have a power of degrading as well as of elevating her. She who first marries a duke, or other peer of a superior order, and afterwards a simple baron, is still allowed to retain her first title, and the privileges annexed to it: for the law considers all peers as equals. In  
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the scale of female rank and importance, there is a kind of intermediate space between the peers and the commoner, filled up by the wives of bishops, judges, and baronets; all which, though they share in the splendour and opulence of their husbands, have no title in consequence of the rank which these husbands enjoy. By the courtesy indeed of this country, the wives of baronets are called ladies, a title superior to that of their husbands, but at the same time a title to which they have no legal right, being in all judicial writs and proceedings only denominated Dame such-a-one, according to the names of their husbands. In Scotland the courtesy of the country is carried still much farther. Every woman who is proprietor of any land in her own right, or is the wife of a man who is proprietor of an estate, great or little, is called Lady such-a-thing, according to the name of that estate; so that a woman is sometimes accosted with the pompous title of lady, who may almost cover the whole of her territorial district with her apron.

As women are, in polished society, weak and incapable of self-defence, the laws of  
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Privileges
of women
in gene-
ral.

this country have supplied this defect, and formed a kind of barrier around them, by rendering their persons so sacred, that even death is, in several cases, the consequence of taking improper advantages of that weakness. By our laws, no man is allowed to take a woman of any rank or condition, and oblige her to marry him, under pain of imprisonment for two years, and a fine at the pleasure of the king. But he who forcibly carries away an heiress, and marries her, even though he should obtain her consent after the forcible abduction, subjects himself to a still greater penalty, he is guilty of felony without benefit of clergy. And there is hardly any criminal whom the law pursues to death with more steady and unrelenting severity. Women are, on account of their weakness, and the better to preserve the modesty of their sex, excused from serving all kinds of public offices; and such as are under twelve years of age, which is the time fixed by the law for being marriageable, if forced into a marriage, or even seduced to consent to it, may afterwards refuse to the husband the rights of matrimony, and have the marriage declared null and of no effect.

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* IN no instance has the law exerted itself more strenuously, than in guarding women against every violence offered to their chastity. Their security in this respect has, in every well regulated state, been considered as an object of the utmost importance, not only as guaranteeing to themselves that liberty of refusal, which throughout the whole extent of nature seems the right of females, but also, as affording to the public all the security which the law can give, for the chastity of their wives; and the legitimacy of their children. We have already mentioned the punishments inflicted on the perpetrators of rapes in several periods and countries*. In Britain these punishments have varied with the manners of the times, and the genius of the legislators. In the time of the Anglo-Saxons, he who committed a rape suffered death. William the

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XXXI.

How secured against the lawless ravisher.

* The laws of Constantine against rape and seduction, are marked with a brutal severity far beyond any thing we have ever met with. When a woman under the age of twenty-five, was decoyed, or forcibly taken from the house of her parents, the culprit was either burnt alive, or torn to pieces by wild beasts: did the woman declare that she had been taken away with her own consent, her humanity instead of saving her lover, involved her also in the same ruin. Prosecutions of this kind were intrusted to the parents of the guilty or injured woman; but if nature inclined them to forgive, or policy to repair the honour of their family by marriage, in either case they subjected themselves to

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Conqueror altered that punishment to the loss of eyes and emasculation, which disabled the offender from being again guilty of the like crime. Henry the Third, considering these punishments as too severe, and finding that a power so extensive lodged in the hands of all sorts of women, was often abused from motives of resentment, ordained, that a rape, when not prosecuted within forty days, should only be considered as a simple trespass, and punished by two years imprisonment and a fine, at the pleasure of the crown; and even when it was prosecuted within the forty days, the king reserved to himself the power of punishing the offender. Having made trial of this method, and finding that it was far from sufficient to guard the fair sex from violence, he at last made the commission of a rape felony. Finding even this defence too weak, he, some time after, made it felony without

exile and confiscation. Slaves, whether male or female, when accessory to rape or seduction, were burnt alive, or destroyed by the execrable torture of having melted lead poured down their throats. The rigour of this law seems even to have shocked the unfeeling promulgator, and to have obliged him to soften the severity of his general institution, by partial acts of mercy. In subsequent reigns the most odious parts of it were altered, or repealed.

benefit

benefit of clergy. And so careful has the law been to secure all women of whatever character or condition, that even the most common prostitute has, in case of a rape, the same powers and privileges as other women.

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IN almost all other cases, whether civil or criminal, parties cannot be witnesses for themselves. A woman, however, who is ravished, may give evidence upon her oath, and is in law not only considered as a competent witness, but may by her sole testimony prove the fact, and deprive the aggressor of his life. In some measure to counteract the exorbitance of this power, and secure the lives of the men from being sacrificed to pique and resentment, the credibility of her testimony is left entirely in the breast of the jury, to be judged of from the tenour of her conduct, and the circumstances that occur in the trial. This power of being a witness for herself, in cases of assault, is not confined to such women only as are allowed by the law to be competent witnesses in other cases, it is extended even to infants. She who is under twelve years of age may be a competent witness against a man who has abused her, provided she has attained a suf-

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XXXI.



ficient degree of understanding to know the nature of an oath. Nor does the privilege of the sex in this particular instance stop even here, it is extended to a length unknown in most other cases. If a man has been tried and condemned for a rape, and is afterwards pardoned, the woman may, by an appeal, have him tried again for the same offence. A married woman may sue her ravisher in any criminal court, without the consent or approbation of her husband. And, to sum up all, a woman may even kill a man who attempts to ravish her,

SUCH extensive privileges, vested in a sex so much guided by the impulses of passion, and so susceptible of the strongest and most implacable resentment, has by many been considered as a violent stretch of legal authority, whereby the balance of justice, which ought in all cases to be equal, is evidently made to preponderate more in favour of the one sex than of the other : But, on the other hand, when we consider the weakness of that sex, the violence of ours, and the necessity which humanity and the rules of society lay us under of defending them. When to these we add, the impossibility, in
this

this case, of framing a law which shall answer the intention of the legislator, and lay neither of the sexes under any disadvantage; and that much greater evils would arise to society, were women subject to the assaults of every rude invader, than from the powers with which they are invested, we cannot help thinking, that this law, as it stands at present, is, perhaps, nearly as perfect as the nature of the case will admit of.

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As licentiousness of manners, fickleness of temper, or a fraudulent intention of debauching, frequently induce the more giddy or worthless part of our sex, to address and make promises to a woman, without any intention of marrying her; and as it is impossible in all cases for the sex to discover the real lover from the impostor; that they may not be altogether without redress when so cheated, the law of England ordains, that if a man courts a woman, promises to marry her, and afterwards marries another, she may, by bringing an action against him, recover such damages, as a jury shall think adequate to the loss she has sustained. In Scotland, it is said, she may recover one half of the fortune he receives with his wife,

Power of
women to
compel
the per-
formance
of a pro-
mise of
marriage.

CHAP. wife. On the other hand, as it sometimes
 XXXI. happens, that artful women draw on the
 ~~~~~ more fond and silly part of our sex, to make  
 them valuable presents under pretence of  
 marriage, and afterwards laugh at, or refuse  
 to marry them. A man who has been so  
 bubbled may sue the woman to return the  
 presents he made her, because they were  
 presumed to have been conditionally given,  
 and she has failed in performing her part of  
 that condition.

THOSE personal privileges, and the few  
 restrictions upon them which we have here  
 enumerated, are chiefly such as regard un-  
 married women, we shall now proceed to  
 relate some of the more peculiar advantages  
 and disadvantages of those who have en-  
 tered into the state of wedlock.

Privileges  
 of married  
 women.

By the laws of this country, the moment  
 a woman is married, her political existence  
 is annihilated, or incorporated into that of  
 her husband. But by this little mortifica-  
 tion she is no loser, and her apparent loss  
 of consequence is abundantly compensated  
 by a long list of extensive privileges and  
 immunities, which, for the encouragement  
 of

of matrimony, were, perhaps, contrived to give married women the advantage over those that are single. Of all the privileges conferred by nature, none are so precious and inestimable as personal liberty. Men of all ranks and conditions, and women who are unmarried, or widows, may be deprived of this for debts contracted by themselves, or by others for whom they have given security; but wives cannot be imprisoned for debt, nor deprived of their personal liberty for any thing but crimes; and even such of these as subject the offender only to a pecuniary punishment must be expiated by the husband. No married woman is liable to pay any debt, even though contracted without the knowledge, or against the consent, of her husband; and what is still more extraordinary, whatever debts she may have contracted while single, devolve, the moment of her marriage, upon the hapless spouse, who, like the scape-goat, is loaded by the priest who performs the ceremony with all the sins and extravagances of his wife. It is a common opinion among the vulgar, that a general warning in the Gazette, or in a news-paper, will exempt a man from the payment of such debts as are contracted

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tracted by his wife without his knowledge, but this opinion is without any good foundation. Particular warnings, however, given in writing, have been held as good exemptions; but such are of little advantage to a husband, as his wife may always find people to give her credit, whom the husband has not cautioned against it.

So long as a wife cohabits with her husband, he is, by the laws of his country, obliged to provide her with food, drink, clothing, and all other necessaries suitable to her rank and his circumstances, even although he received no fortune with her. If he leave her, or force her to leave him by ill usage, he is also liable to maintain her in the same manner; but if she run away from him, and he is willing that she should abide in his house, he is not liable to give her any separate maintenance, nor to pay any of her debts, unless he take her again; in which case he must pay whatever she contracts, whether she behave herself ill or well. When a husband forces his wife to leave him by cruel usage, she may claim a separate maintenance; but while she enjoys that, he shall not be liable to pay any of her debts.

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As personal safety is of all other privileges the greatest and most valuable, and as weakness may often be exposed to danger when in the hands of unrestricted power, the laws of this country have taken the most effectual method of securing the safety of married women. When a husband, from maliciousness or resentment, or any other cause, threatens, or actually beats his wife, she may demand security for his future good behaviour. And on application to any justice of the peace, such justice is obliged to make the husband find such security. When a husband, conscious of having used his wife ill, will not allow her to go out of his house, or carries her away, or keeps her concealed, in order to prevent her endeavouring to find redress of the evils that she suffers, her friends may in that case, by applying to the court of King's Bench, obtain an order for the husband to produce his wife before the said court; and if she there swears the peace against him, she delivers herself from his jurisdiction, and he cannot compel her to live with him, but the court will grant her an order to live where she pleases. And should he attempt to force her to do otherwise, it would be a breach of the king's

CHAP. peace, by which he would be subjected to  
XXXI.  
the penalties annexed to such breach.

WHEN a wife is beaten by any person, so as to be disabled from managing her family and affairs, the husband is by law entitled to such damages on that account from the offender as a jury shall think fit to give. But if an attack is made upon a man's wife in his presence, the law considers the attack as made upon himself, and gives him the same liberty of defending her that it allows in defending himself. Nor does it stop at the attacks made on her person. If her property is in danger, he may repel force by force, and the breach of the peace which happens on that account is only chargeable on the aggressor. But care must be taken that such defence do not exceed what is necessary for prevention; for if it does, the defender becomes himself an aggressor. Among the Romans, among several other ancient nations, and among some people in the present times, it is not deemed culpable for a husband to kill the man whom he surprises committing adultery with his wife. By the laws of England, he who kills such a man, is reckoned guilty of  
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manlaughter; but in consequence of the enormous provocation given, the court commonly orders the sentence of burning on the hand to be inflicted in the slightest manner.

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It being considered by the legislature as advantageous to population as well as conducive to the harmony of society, that every married couple should live together. The law ordains that no man shall take away a wife from her husband, neither by force, nor by fraud, nor by her own consent; and he who transgresses this order, is liable to a writ of trespass, or an action of ravishment, which will oblige him to pay damages to the injured husband, and suffer imprisonment for two years. But this is not the utmost extent of the law, it likewise intitles a husband to damages, not only against the person who actually takes away his wife, but also against him who entices or persuades her to live separately from him. The ancient laws of England are said to have been so strict in this particular, that when a wife happened to miss her way, the man who found her might not even take her to his house, unless she was benighted, in danger of being drowned, of falling into the hands

Punish-  
ment of  
taking a  
wife from  
her hus-  
band.

CHAP.  
XXXI.



of robbers, or of being devoured by wild beasts. But a stranger might carry her on horseback to the nearest market-town, or justice of the peace, there to remain till claimed by her husband.

As the wife is not allowed to leave the husband, so neither may the husband abandon his wife. If he does so, without shewing a sufficient cause, she may enter a suit against him for restitution of the rights of marriage; and the spiritual court will compel him to return, to live with her, and to restore them. But the law extends its privileges to married women still farther, and grants them immunities almost scarcely compatible with the rules of civil society and the public safety. If a wife commit felony in the company of her husband, it supposes she did it by his compulsion, and on that account absolves her from the punishment commonly inflicted on such delinquents. If a wife take away the goods of her husband without his knowledge, and sell them, neither the wife who stole them, nor the person who bought them of her, are considered as guilty of felony. A wife may receive and conceal her husband if he is guilty of felony  
or





or any other crime; for this action of concealment is only considered in her as self-preservation, an instinct which no law can take away or destroy. If a wife receive stolen goods into her house, and secrete them from her husband, the law will nevertheless impute the crime to the husband, unless he either divulge the matter to a magistrate, or leave his house as soon as he discovers the crime. Though wives are thus far indulged by the law, yet they are not emancipated from the punishment it inflicts, when they commit robbery, treason, or murder, although in the company of, and by the coercion of, their husbands,

As a wife always is, or ought to be, the manager of her husband's family, she commonly has servants under her care, whom she neither can compel to do their duty by force, nor defend herself against, should they be inclined to offer her any ill usage; the law, therefore, ordains, that if any servant or labourer assault or beat his mistress, he shall suffer one year's imprisonment, or other corporal punishment, according to the nature of the crime. Every pregnant woman is likewise peculiarly defended by the law; as

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Punish-  
ment of  
servants  
for abus-  
ing their  
mistress.

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XXXI.



an assault upon her, while in this state, does not only more easily endanger her life, but also the life of her child. Every assault of such kind is therefore punished with exemplary severity. Any woman also, who is capitally convicted, whether married or single, may plead pregnancy in arrest of the execution of her sentence; and if she is really found with child, her plea will be sustained; for it would be highly unjust, that the innocent should be destroyed with the guilty.

ALTHOUGH a husband is, by the laws of this country, vested with a power over all the goods and chattels of his wife, yet he cannot devise by his will such of her ornaments and jewels as she is accustomed to wear, though it has been held that he may, if he pleases, dispose of them in his lifetime. A husband is liable to answer all such actions at law as were attached against his wife at the time of their marriage, and also to pay all the debts she had contracted previous to that period; but if his wife shall happen to die before he has made payment of such debts, the compact which made them one flesh, and blended their interests into one, being dissolved, the husband is thereby absolved

solved from paying her anti-nuptial debts. C H A P.  
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A married woman may purchase an estate, and if the husband does not enter his dissent before the conveyance, he shall be considered as having giving such consent, and the conveyance be good and valid. A wife who is accustomed to trade, may sell goods in an open market; and such goods, a husband by virtue of his authority over her, shall not have any power to reclaim.

No woman can lose any rank which she derived from her birth, by marrying the meanest plebeian; but though descended of the lowest of the human race herself, she may by marriage be raised, in this country, to any rank beneath the sovereignty. No woman can by marriage confer a settlement in any parish on her husband; but every man who has a legal settlement himself, confers the same settlement by marriage on his wife. Though a husband and his wife are by the law considered so much as one person, that they are rarely admitted as evidence for or against each other, yet this rule has in some instances been departed from, even in cases not strictly criminal. A wife has been admitted evidence to prove a cheat put upon her husband. BE-

## CHAP.

## XXXI.



Privileges  
of married  
women by  
the con-  
tract of  
marriage.

BESIDES the advantages we have now mentioned, to which married women have a right by the general laws of matrimony as they now stand in Britain, there are others which they may enjoy by private contract. It is no uncommon thing, in the present times, for the matrimonial bargain to be made so, as that the wife shall retain the sole and absolute power of enjoying and disposing of her own fortune, in the same manner as if she were not married; by which inequitable bargain, the husband is debarred from enjoying any of the rights of matrimony, except the person of his wife. But this is not all: if the wife, too, were curtailed in her privileges, the bargain would be in some degree equitable: this, however, is so far from being the case, that it is quite the reverse; the husband becomes thereby liable to pay all the debts which his wife may burden him with, even though she have abundance of her own to answer that purpose; he is also obliged to maintain her, though her circumstances be more opulent than his; and if he die before her, she has a right to one-third of his real estate, and to whatever is customary for widows to have out of his personals; while, if she

die

die before him, he is not entitled to the value of one single halfpenny, unless she has devised it to him by will. These are obvious disadvantages on the part of the husband; but, what is still worse, such a bargain overturns the order of things, and destroys that authority, which nature and the laws of this country give a man over his wife, and that obedience and subjection which the rules of the gospel prescribe in the deportment of a wife toward her husband.

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XXXI.

SUCH are the privileges and immunities which the British women derive from marriage, and which they enjoy from the moment that they enter into that state; but there are others of a posthumous nature, and these are only reserved for them if they survive their husbands. When a woman, on her entrance into matrimony, gives up her fortune to the power and discretion of her husband; or, if she has no fortune, when, through a long and tedious course of years, she joins her own management, labour, and industry to his; nothing can be more reasonable, than that she should be provided for, in case of his dying before her. It would be a capital defect in the laws of civil

Privileges  
of widows  
by our  
laws.

CHAP.  
XXXI.



society, to leave this provision altogether in the power of individuals, by whom it might frequently be disregarded or neglected, and the widows even of such husbands as had died in affluence, left to experience all the hardships of want and poverty; to prevent which, the law of this country has wisely ordered, that every widow shall have a reasonable dower out of the effects or estates of her deceased husband, even though there was no marriage-settlement, or though, in such settlement, no dower was stipulated to the wife.

DOWERS, as it is supposed, were first introduced into England by the Danish kings, and into Denmark, by Swein, the father of our Canute the Great, who bestowed on the Danish ladies this privilege, as a grateful acknowledgment of their having parted with their jewels to ransom him from captivity, when taken prisoner by the Vandals. Dower out of lands was unknown among the Anglo-Saxons; for, by the laws of king Edward, the widow of any one who dies, is directed to be supported entirely out of his personal estate; but afterwards, a widow became entitled to a share  
in

in one-half of the lands of her deceased husband, so long as she remained *chaste and unmarried*; conditions, which seem anciently to have been annexed to all dowers in this country; on a supposition, perhaps, that the dread of falling into poverty would be the strongest inducement to continence, and that if she married another husband, all the obligations which bound the estates and effects of the former to maintain her, from that moment ceased to exist. Such were the conditions upon which dowers were enjoyed some ages after they were first instituted; but these conditions were afterward only required of a widow, when her husband left any children; and in time they fell entirely into disuse; so that at present a widow may claim her dower, whether she is chaste and unmarried or otherwise; but no woman can claim her dower, who was not actually the wife of a man at the time of his decease. A divorce, therefore, from the chains of matrimony takes away all right to a dower; but a divorce only from bed and board, although for the crime of adultery, has no such effect. A woman who runs away from her husband, and lives with an adulterer, loses her right to dower, unless the husband

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is reconciled to, and takes her back. As every foreigner is, by the laws of England, incapable of holding lands, therefore the wife who is an alien is entitled to no dower out of the lands of her husband. The wife of him who commits high-treason is entitled to no dower; nor the wife of an idiot; for an idiot, being incapable of consenting to any contract, cannot lawfully marry; and therefore all the rights which women acquire by marriage are nugatory in the case of her who is joined to an idiot.

BEFORE marriage-settlements came so much into fashion, the dower which was assigned by the law, or with which the husband endowed the wife at the time of marriage, was the only security she had for a maintenance, in case she became a widow. Respecting dower, there are in certain places particular customs, which set aside the operations of the law in the districts where they prevail. In some places, custom allots to the widow no less than the whole of her husband's lands. In others more moderate, it gives her only the half, and in others only a quarter. Anciently, the most common method of settling the dower of the wife was,



was, by publicly endowing her at the church-<sup>CHAP.</sup>  
 door, in the presence of all the company<sup>XXXI.</sup>  
 who were assembled at the marriage, with  
 the whole, or such quantity of his lands as  
 the husband thought proper to bestow.  
 When the wife was endowed with the whole,  
 we have some authorities to believe the hus-  
 band made use of these words : “ With all  
 “ my lands and tenements I thee endow.”  
 When he endowed her with a part only, he  
 gave a specific description of such part, that  
 no doubt might remain as to its situation or  
 extent. But when he endowed her with  
 personal property only, then he used to say,  
 “ With all my worldly goods I thee endow;”  
 a speech, which, being still preserved in our  
 marriage-ritual, shews how fond we are of  
 continuing forms, even after the reasons  
 which gave birth to them are totally extinct,

THE dower of a widow was formerly  
 neither subject to tolls nor taxes, nor could  
 even the king seize on it for a debt due to  
 the crown ; but this privilege, being found  
 greatly to diminish the public revenue, was  
 at last discontinued. At this day, however,  
 the dower of a widow cannot be seized by  
 the creditors of her husband. For it would  
 be

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be unjust, that she should not be entitled to an equivalent of her fortune, or a recompence for her labour and care, as well as the creditors to payment of their money. Besides the dotal right to a life-rent of one-third of the husband's real estate, which is commonly allowed by law, where the custom of the manor or place does not determine it otherwise, when a husband lends money in the name of himself and his wife, if the wife survive him, and there be enough besides this money to pay his lawful debts, the wife is entitled to it. No widow can be endowed out of copyhold lands, unless by the local custom of the manor, nor can she have any castle, or place of defence, as her dower; for she is considered as incapable of managing it, so as to make it answer the purposes for which it was intended.

As the dower assigned either by the common law or by the special custom of the place, was frequently considered by the contracting parties as too great or too little, the present times have hardly left any thing to run in that channel, the parties thinking it better to stipulate and agree between themselves on a specific quantity of land or money, which

which is, previous to the marriage, settled upon the wife by way of jointure, and which effectually takes away all her right to any dower. The jointure, thus legally settled, is still more inviolable to the wife than her dower. It cannot be touched by the creditors of the husband. And though a dower be forfeited by the husband being guilty of high-treason, a jointure is not. Every jointure must be made to the wife, for the term of her own natural life; if made for the life of another person, it is not legal, and she may refuse it, and claim the dower which the common law will assign her. When a jointure is made to the wife before marriage, she cannot refuse it, and claim her dower in its stead, as she is considered as having consented to it, while in a free and independent state. But if the jointure was made after the marriage, she may refuse it, and have a right to a dower, as she is then considered as having been obliged to give her consent by the impulse and coercion of her husband. If a husband settle upon his wife a jointure that shall be of a certain yearly value, and it fall short of it, she may commit waste, so far as to make up her deficiency, though prohibited from so doing in the deed of  
of

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of settlement ; for it is but justice, that the widow should have to the full extent of what was intended her by her husband. The widow must have a right to enter upon her jointure immediately on the death of her husband ; and if any subsequent period is fixed for it, she may claim her dower in preference.

BEFORE the time of William the Conqueror, when a widow married within the year, she forfeited her dower, or jointure ; but that custom long since fell into disuse, and at present the law does not prescribe any time in which she shall not re-marry : custom, however, fixes a kind of infamy upon her who takes another husband, before she has dedicated a decent time to grief and mourning for the last.

Disadvan-  
tages of  
women.

WHAT we have hitherto mentioned respecting the women of Great-Britain, has chiefly regarded these privileges and immunities which are established to them by law, or conceded to them by custom ; but as this long list of privileges is, on the other hand, contrasted with many disadvantages, which are necessary, in civil society, to put the two sexes nearly on an equal footing with each

each other, let us turn the other side of the picture, and take a view of these also,

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IN Britain, we allow a woman to sway our sceptre, but by law and custom we debar her from every other government but that of her own family, as if there were not a public employment between that of superintending the kingdom, and the affairs of her own kitchen, which could be managed by the genius and capacity of woman. We neither allow women to officiate at our altars, to debate in our councils, nor to fight for us in the field; we suffer them not to be members of our senate, to practise any of the learned professions, nor to concern themselves much with our trades and occupations. We exercise nearly a perpetual guardianship over them, both in their virgin and their married state; and she who, having laid a husband in the grave, enjoys an independent fortune, is almost the only woman among us who can be called free. Thus excluded from every thing which can give them consequence, they derive the greater part of the power which they enjoy, from their charms; and these, when joined to sensibility, often fully compensate, in this

Women hardly allowed any power of management of affairs.

CHAP. XXXI. respect, for all the disadvantages they are  
 ~~~~~ laid under by law and custom.

Allowed
 their pro-
 perty with
 many li-
 mitations.

As the possession of property is one of the most valuable of all political blessings, and generally carries the possession of power and authority along with it ; one of the most peculiar disadvantages in the condition of our women is, their being postponed to all males in the succession to the inheritance of landed estates, and generally allowed much smaller shares than the men, even of the money and effects of their fathers and ancestors, when this money or those effects are given them in the lifetime of their parents, or devised to them by will ; for otherwise, that is, if the father dies intestate, they share equally with sons in all personal property. When an estate, in default of male heirs, descends to the daughters, the common custom of England is, that the eldest shall not, in the same manner as an eldest son, inherit the whole, but all the daughters shall have an equal share in it. Westmoreland, however, and some other places, are exceptions to this general rule, and the eldest daughter, there, succeeds to the whole of the land in preference to all the other sisters.

IN

IN some ancient states, where the women had attained a considerable degree of importance, the right of inheritance from an ancestor devolved equally upon the males and females. Among the Greeks and Romans, however, from whom all Europe at first derived the origin of its laws, the sons succeeded in preference to the daughters. In France, and every other kingdom where the feudal system was introduced, women were totally excluded from the inheritance of the feudal lands, because the baron, of whom such lands were held, required a military tenant, who should take the field with him when occasion required; and women being incapable of this service, were also incapable of succeeding to such estates as required it. This rule was strictly adhered to in England for some ages after the time of William the Conqueror, who first introduced the feudal system among us; but in process of time, when it became customary to levy money on the tenants, instead of their personal attendance in the field, it became also customary to allow women to inherit, in failure of male issue. We have already observed, that formerly the kings of this country might levy an aid on the subjects

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Postpon-
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of estates.

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for the marriage of their eldest daughters, The great barons exercised the same power over their tenants, and on the marriage of their eldest daughters, obliged each tenant to pay what amounted to about five per cent. of his yearly income. But this was only a small part of the oppression these tenants laboured under. If any of them presumed to give his daughter in marriage without the consent of his lord, he was liable to an action for defrauding the lord of his property, as the lord had a right to chuse her a husband, and to make that husband pay a fine or premium, for providing him with a wife. But besides this, it is believed, that the lord claimed a right of a more extraordinary nature, that of enjoying the wife of his tenant the first night; a claim which, however improbable it may seem to us, is not altogether incredible, when we consider the exorbitant abuse of power which marked with so much infamy the times we are speaking of,

BUT besides these laws, which for the most part operate so as to hinder the fair sex from getting possession of any considerable property, the laws of marriage again divest

divest them of such property as they really are in possession of. By marriage, all the goods and chattels which belong to the woman become vested in the husband, and he has the same power over them as she had while they were her sole and absolute property. When the wife, however, is possessed of a real estate in land, the power which the husband acquires over it is not so extensive, he only gains a right to the rents and profits arising out of it during the continuance of the marriage; but if a living child is born to him, though it should die in a very short time, he becomes, in that case, tenant for life, by the courtesy of the country. If there happens to be no child, then at the demise of the wife the estate goes to her heirs at law. But the property of her goods and chattels devolves upon the husband, who has the sole and absolute power of disposing of them according to his pleasure.

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Operation
of the
laws of
marriage
in divest-
ing them
of pro-
perty.

EVERY married woman is considered as a minor, and cannot do any deed which affects her real or personal property, without the consent of her husband; if she does any such deed, it is not valid, and the husband may

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may claim the property of what she disposed of, as if no such disposal had been made. As a married woman cannot dispose of her property while living, so neither does the law give her that power at her death. In the statute of wills, she is expressly prohibited from devising land, and even from bequeathing goods and chattels without the leave of her husband; because all such goods and chattels are, without any limitation, his sole and absolute property; whether they were such as the wife brought along with her at the marriage, or such as she acquired by her labour and industry afterward,

THE laws of this country not only deny to a married woman the power of making a will, but also dissolve and render of no effect upon her marriage, every will she may have made while single; and even when a single woman who has made her will, marries, and her husband dies, the will which she had made, being invalidated by her marriage, does not recover its validity by the husband's death. If a husband and wife are jointly possessed of houses and lands, which are settled upon the survivor, if the husband de-

stroys



destroys himself, his wife shall not have the half that belonged to him; it becomes the property of the crown, as a compensation for the loss of a subject. When a husband and wife agree to live separate, and the husband covenants to give her so much a year; if at any time he offers to be reconciled and to take her home, upon her refusal, he shall not any longer be obliged to pay her a separate maintenance. If a legacy be paid to a married woman who lives separate from her husband, the husband may file a bill in chancery to oblige the person who paid it to his wife, to pay it again to him with interest. If a wife prove insane, the husband, as her proper guardian, has a right to confine her in his own house, or in a private mad-house; but should the husband not be inclined to release her when her senses return, a court of equity will give her that relief which the husband denies. The power which a husband has over the person of his wife, does not seem perfectly settled by the laws of this country; it is nevertheless certain, that she is not to go abroad, nor to leave his house and family, without his approbation; but what coercive methods he may make use of to restrain her from so doing, or whether he

may

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may proceed any farther than to admonition and denying her money, seems a point not altogether agreed upon.

WHEN a wife is injured in her person or property, so limited is her power, that she cannot bring an action for redress without the consent and approbation of her husband, nor any way but in his name. If, however, such husband has abjured the realm, or is banished from it, he is considered as dead in law, and his wife in that case may sue for redress in her own name and authority. When a husband and wife are outlawed, and the wife appears in court without her husband, she cannot have the outlawry taken off, because she is considered only as a part of the object against which the outlawry was issued. When a husband becomes bankrupt, and is suspected of having dealt fraudulently with his creditors, the commissioners of the bankruptcy may summon his wife before them, examine her concerning his affairs, and commit her to prison if she either refuses to answer such questions as are put to her, or answers them in a deceitful manner. When a widow is endowed of certain lands and tenements,
and

and sells them; the heir at law may not only recover them of the purchaser, but also refuse to restore them back to the widow, or to pay her any dower in their stead. By the laws of England, a father only is empowered to exercise a rightful authority over his children; no power is conferred on the mother, only so far as to oblige these children to consider her as a person entitled to duty and a reverential regard.

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BESIDES the limitations and restrictions which the laws of this country have laid upon the fair sex, it is necessary for the good of society, that punishments should be annexed to their crimes, as well as to these committed by us; in equal degrees of delinquency, those punishments are for the most part nearly the same in either sex, a few cases, however, are excepted. A woman guilty of high-treason is not punished in the same manner as a man; for this crime, a man is condemned to be hung up, taken down alive, his bowels taken out, and his body divided into quarters. A woman is condemned to be drawn to the place of execution, and there burnt to death. Condemnation to the flames is obliging the criminal

Of the
punish-
ments in-
flicted on
women.

CHAP. to suffer a death of all others the most tre-
 XXXI. mendous and terrible, and has been seldom
 inflicted in Europe but by bigoted priests
 and relentless inquisitors. The laws of
 England, however, reckoning high-treason
 and the murder of a husband equal to he-
 resy, condemn to the flames her who is guilty
 of either, supposing that a punishment too
 exemplary cannot be held out to deter from
 the commission of such unnatural crimes.
 In Scotland, the woman who murders her
 husband is only hanged as a common felon.
 In all the capital punishments of the sex,
 the laws of Britain lay it down as a maxim,
 that decency is not to be violated. We wish
 the same delicacy were observed in these
 which are only intended for the reformation
 of the culprit; but whipping at the cart's
 tail, as practised over all England, is often
 a shameful instance of the contrary.

IN the protectorship of Cromwell, wilful
 adultery was capital, and keeping a brothel,
 or repeatedly committing fornication, were
 felony without benefit of clergy. At pre-
 sent, adultery is only punishable in the spi-
 ritual court by certain penances, and in the
 civil courts by divorce and loss of dower.

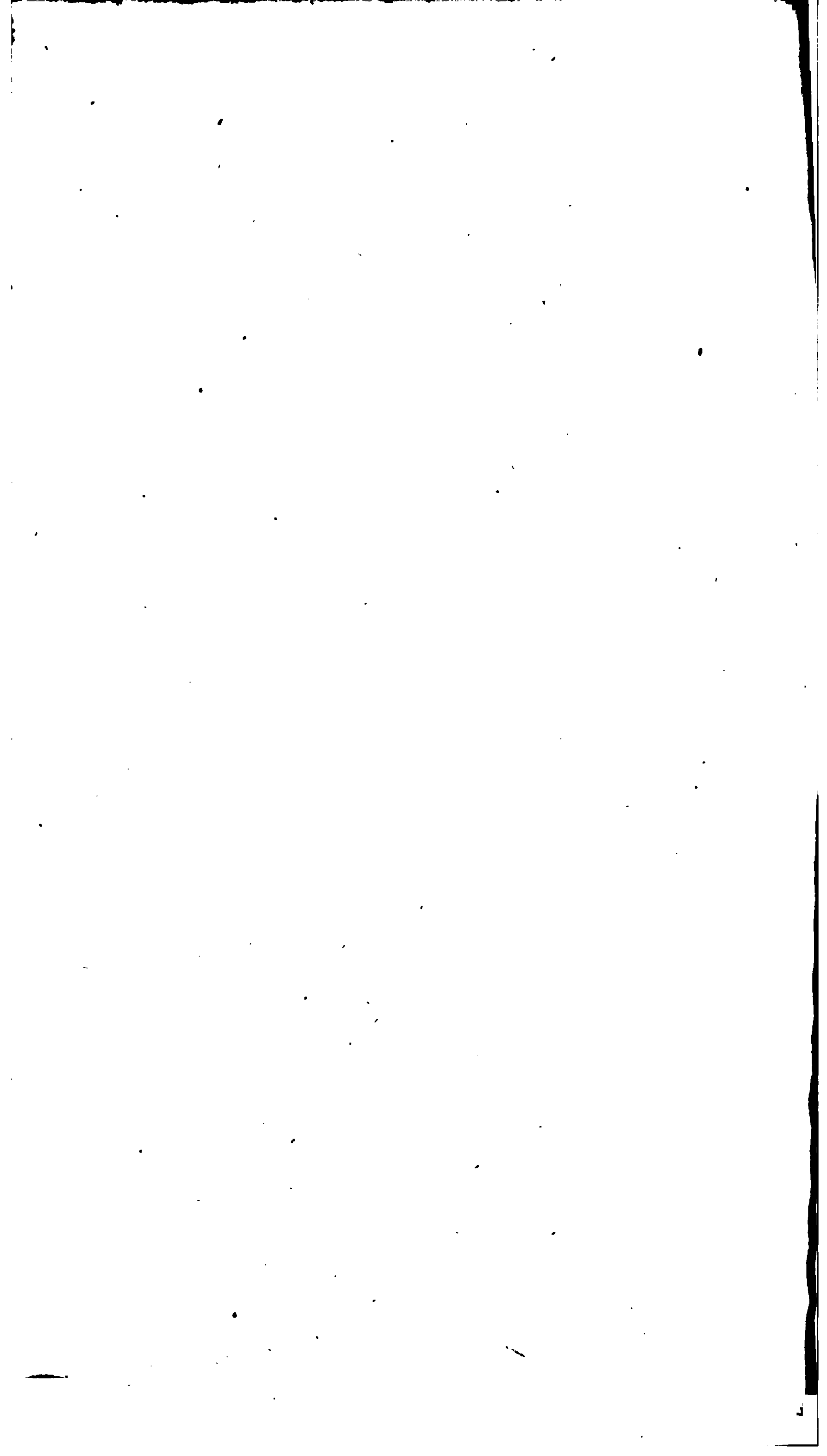
Adultery

Adultery was in Scotland for several centuries punishable by death ; and even Mary, queen of Scots, a lady, if not belied by fame, no way remarkable for conjugal fidelity, published some of the severest edicts against her sisterhood of sinners ; but these severities, in Scotland as well as in England, were laid aside, and the laws respecting adultery, are now in both kingdoms nearly upon an equal footing. For a variety of the other crimes committed by the sex against chastity, decency, and decorum, the laws have hardly devised any punishment, leaving the unhappy delinquent to the stings of conscience, the loss of character, the contempt of the virtuous, and the vengeance of offended heaven.

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